

THE MILITANT

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'How Far We Slaves Have Come!'
book meeting in Australia

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U.S. gov't death squad exposed in Puerto Rico

BY SETH GALINSKY

A U.S. marshall organized a death squad that operated in Puerto Rico. Among the squad's members was a U.S. Navy lieutenant. The Federal Bureau of Investigation helped cover up the group's activities. The hit squad also included the head of Puerto Rico's police riot squad and other police officers.

These are some of the facts revealed during testimony before a Puerto Rican Senate committee investigating the 1978 cop killings of two pro-independence activists.

Ignacio Rivera, a well-known lawyer and former CIA agent, testified November 22 that he was present in 1983 when one of the cops involved in the 1978 killings told the FBI about the group. According to the *New York Times* the squad's goal was to "eliminate terrorists, socialists and advocates of independence for Puerto Rico."

U.S. Navy lieutenant Alex de la Zerda provided ammunition and explosives for the secret group, while U.S. marshal José López provided guns, Rivera said. According to the *San Juan Star*, López is presently a federal marshall in Miami.

Rivera's testimony also tied the hit squad to a 1979 machine-gun attack on a bus outside a navy base, to a 1982 kidnapping, and to the January 7, 1980, bombing of the Puerto Rican Bar Association. Evidence produced at the hearing may also tie it to the torture and murder of pro-independence activist Manuel de Jesús Sanjurjo Cortés, who was being watched by the group.

Puerto Rico has been a U.S. colony for more than 90 years. U.S. law governs the island. Business in federal courts there is conducted in English even though Spanish is the language of the Puerto Rican people.

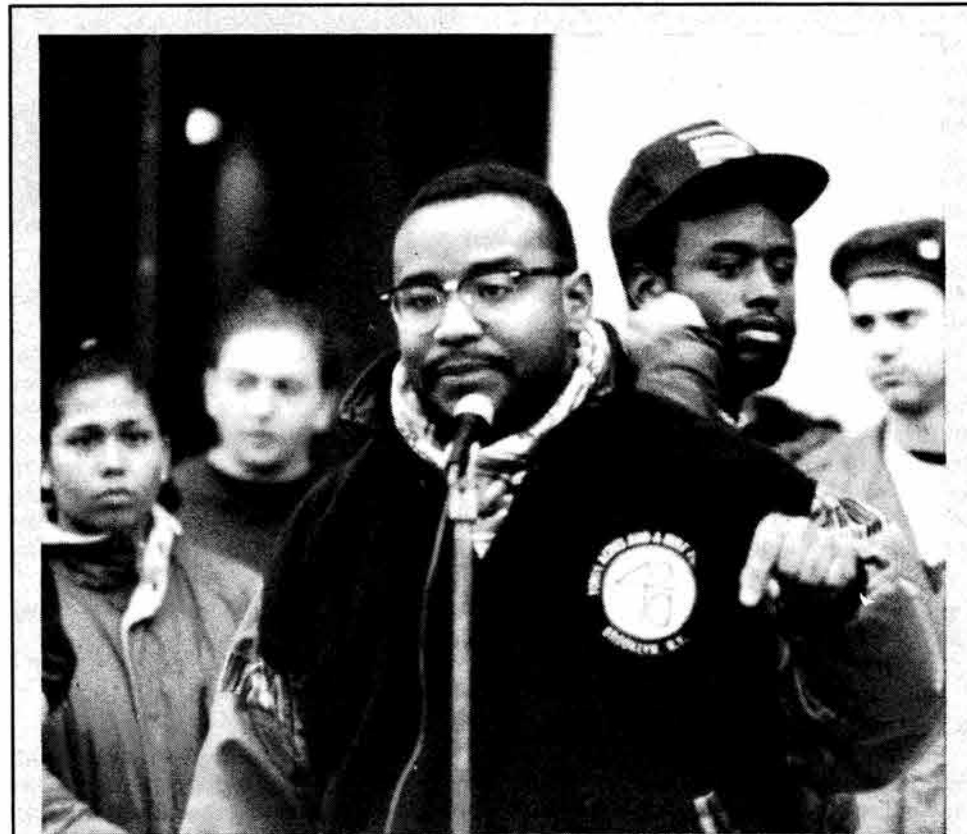
The island has a long history of struggles for independence and of labor battles. In March 1990, for example, more than 100,000 workers and their supporters marched in the capital city of San Juan to support union demands.

Although the latest revelations have been front-page news and broadcast live on television and radio in Puerto Rico, there has been a virtual news blackout in the United States.

The hearings in the Puerto Rican Senate committee have focused on the Cerro Maravilla case, named for a hill where the two independence supporters were killed on July 25, 1978.

Police claimed at the time that they shot

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Militant/Tom O'Brien
Brian Roberts, president of Black Law Students Association at University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, addresses November 21 antiracist rally of 180 youths. Event was prompted by an incident where members of White Student Union assaulted students protesting the racist outfit. Representatives of other student groups and United Auto Workers Local 879 also spoke.

New York case: safe, legal access to abortion needed now

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

NEW YORK — Community residents in this city's Lower East Side held a press conference November 26 in front of the office of Dr. Abu Hayat to condemn the lack of access to safe, legal abortion facilities for women. Hayat had been arrested seven days earlier for attempting to perform a third-trimester abortion. The patient in the case, Rosa Rodriguez, later gave birth to a premature baby whose right arm is missing, reportedly severed in the botched abortion.

The case reveals the extent to which the lives of working women are threatened due to the numerous restrictions on abortion availability. Dozens of illegal clinics in the city prey on poor women. Often unsanitary, these clinics have no emergency or follow-up services in case complications develop.

Rodriguez, a single mother of a two-year-old and unemployed, spoke to the press November 20. She sought an abortion because she did not feel she could support another child. Responding to an advertisement in the Spanish-language newspaper *El Diario/La Prensa*, Rodriguez paid Hayat \$1,000 in cash, and gave her passport, green card, and some jewelry as collateral for \$500 to be paid later.

After she awoke from the anesthesia,
Continued on Page 2

Trial of Curtis cop brutality suit ends

BY CHRIS REMPLE

DES MOINES — "It's tempting to picture myself in the jury room," began Federal Judge Charles Wolle at the conclusion of the two day trial in union and political activist Mark Curtis's lawsuit against brutality by the Des Moines police.

"It seems to me that the jury would be most troubled with, and have the most discussion about, what it sees in the photographs of Mark Curtis that have been entered into evidence here," Judge Wolle continued. "They show a heck of an injury. It appears that these injuries happened after the plaintiff was taken to the ground, cuffed, turned on his back, was wearing only his pants, and was surrounded by four officers. I think those jurors would ask themselves why was it necessary for Mr. Curtis to end up with these injuries?"

The judge, who will render the decision in the nonjury trial, asked both the attorneys for Mark Curtis and the city solicitor to comment on this question before he retired to consider his verdict.

Judge Wolle also said that he thought the jurors would want to know why, with all the officers up on top of Curtis, they didn't pull back and let everything "cool down."

The judge thanked both attorneys for delivering a "well-presented case," and announced that he would issue a verdict soon.

"The lawsuit by Mark Curtis against Des Moines police officers Charles Wolf and Daniel Dusenbery centers on one fact: the use of force," stated William Kutmus, one of Curtis's lawyers, in his closing argument. Kutmus's cocounsel was George Eichhorn. The trial took place November 25 and 26 in U.S. District Court in Des Moines.

Kutmus stated that there was no real debate as to the force used. Photos taken by friends of Curtis, as well as by police in the jail and hospital staff in the emergency rooms where Curtis was treated, all graphically depict deep gashes above and below his left eye, as well as bruises on his ears, neck, jaw, chest, abdomen, thigh and ankles. Curtis's eye was completely swollen shut, with blood running down his face. X-rays taken at both hospitals where Curtis was treated within 24

hours of his injury show Curtis's eye socket was fractured by powerful blows delivered by police to the left side of Curtis's face.

These extensive and severe wounds were consistent, Kutmus explained, with Curtis's explanation at the trial that the cops beat him severely, without provocation.

The cops' versions, Kutmus stated, contained stark contradictions and could not explain the extent and severity of the injuries

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Build Dec. 13 protest in Washington against Haiti coup, refugee policy

An important and timely national demonstration in solidarity with the Haitian people has been scheduled for Washington, D.C., on December 13.

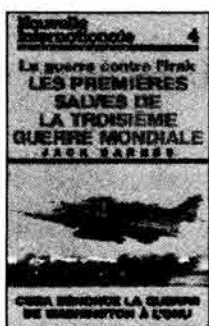
This action, which marks the one year anniversary since Jean-Bertrand Aristide was elected president of Haiti with 67 percent of

EDITORIAL

the vote, is being built around four demands: reinforce the embargo; return Jean-Bertrand Aristide to office as president without conditions; no military intervention; and grant political asylum to Haitian refugees. Among those building the action are the Alliance of Haitian Emigrés, Confederation of Haitian Students in New York, Haiti Solidarity Network, and Local 1199 of the health and

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Cuban economist explains fight for socialism — page 8

Safe, legal access to abortion needed

Continued from front page

Hayat told her the procedure was incomplete and instructed her to go home and return the next day. After experiencing pain, Rodriguez called Hayat's assistant and was told the pains were normal and would subside. Her mother took her to the hospital later that day where she gave birth to the baby.

After the news media reported on the baby's birth, more facts came out about Dr. Hayat's practice. In a matter of days, 15 women came forward, including one who has had a year-long suit against the doctor. It was also brought to light that Hayat is being investigated in the death of 17-year-old Sophie McCoy who died of septic shock as a result of a perforated uterus. The medical examiner's office had classified the death as "accident due to a surgical complication." The Rodriguez case has received widespread coverage in the press here, often taking on an antiabortion edge.

Jessica Hall, who organized the community press conference, lives next door to Hayat's office. "What happened here? Where was the support, the education?" said Hall of the lack of services available to women. "What does this say about the values of our society when women can be treated like this?" Responding to the treatment of the issue in the press, Hall stressed: "I want to say that I am pro-choice. This office is a private practice, and is not indicative of abortion clinics." Hall was briefly interrupted by two people who hold antiabortion views and were seeking to use the events to promote their goal of making abortion illegal.

Hall's husband, Fernando Flores, also spoke. "Dr. Hayat's license should be revoked," he said, "and he should go to jail for his crimes against humanity." Stating he felt the main issue was "women's health care," Flores demanded that women have access to all information about reproductive choices and full access to decent facilities.

Hall explained that she and her husband had responded to the events because they felt it was being used to attack abortion rights. They called up several of their friends, invited them to a meeting where it was decided to hold the press conference. They also called a number of women's rights organizations to attend.

The majority in attendance were residents of the neighborhood, all of whom supported the demand that Hayat be shut down and prosecuted.

Two students who attend Seward Park Annex High School were in favor of sending Hayat to jail. They said they knew several people in the neighborhood who had been referred to Hayat's office, especially young women. "This is scary," said one student. "When you get pregnant you're scared; you don't want your parents to find out. So you ask around and you get sent to places like this. People don't have anywhere else to go — and they don't know it's unsafe. Why should they have to die?"

'Back to the Dark Ages'

Bruce Saber and Ben Freeman, who work at the hardware store on the block, attended the speakout. "If abortion is made illegal in this country it will be like this for more women. It will be back to the Dark Ages if this is allowed to continue," said Saber. He scored the city for turning a blind eye to the problem. "This place is not a mystery to the authorities. Ambulances have been coming here a long time. Everyone in the neighborhood calls Hayat 'Dr. Blood.' Every woman should have the right to choose and to be able to have control over the conditions."

Freeman advocated more men getting involved to stop practices like Hayat's. "It's not just a woman's issue. It's about poverty, and the way immigrants are treated too. People come here looking for a better life, and this is what they get. These places operate all over this city. Look at how many women tried to fight Hayat on their own. It just



doesn't work. Everybody should get together and we should shut them down."

On November 25, Hayat's license to practice medicine was suspended by the New York State Department of Health. The department has had several reports on Hayat, dating back as far as three years, but said none were serious enough to warrant any action. The case now goes before the State Office of Professional Medical Conduct,

which can revoke his license.

Hayat faces criminal charges for performing an illegal third-trimester abortion in the Rodriguez case and misdemeanor charges for sexual abuse in a case filed by another woman.

Manhattan prosecutors are looking into charges against Hayat for first-degree assault on a person — the newborn infant of Rodriguez.

Rightists target Alabama, Carolina clinics

BY SARAH HARRIS

CHARLOTTE, North Carolina — The Action League for Life here organized November 23 to blockade the Carolina Women's Clinic as part of a week of action across the country against abortion rights called by Operation Rescue.

Utilizing walkie-talkies, bullhorns, and team formations the group of 125 people from the Carolinas and Georgia maintained a constant presence within the clinic building for five hours. Police gave each group of 12-15 opponents of women's rights three warnings before arrests were made. Nineteen antiabortion protesters were removed one at a time on stretchers. In addition, several rightists, including a woman dressed as a nurse, tried to turn

away patients as they drove up.

Twenty-five supporters of women's rights were present to defend the clinic. Besides official clinic monitors, several students from the University of North Carolina-Charlotte, members of a pro-choice group in nearby Concord, a local clergywoman, and activists from Greensboro prevented the rightists from successfully turning patients away.

Leading up to the action the Charlotte National Organization for Women received calls from all over the region from activists wanting to help. NOW officials told those interested in joining in clinic defense that the clinic had made arrangements with local authorities and no further help was needed. This strategy of relying on the police and their procedures surrendered ground unnecessarily to the right-wing forces and encouraged them to step up their actions in Charlotte.

College students at the clinic action disagreed with the way the clinic's defense was organized. "Haven't they learned from what happened in Wichita?" one exasperated young man said of the stay-at-home approach. Pro-choice activists exchanged phone numbers and plan to organize a bigger response next time.

BY DENISE McINERNEY

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — Some 200 antiabortion protesters picketed in front of the Summit Medical Center and the Birmingham Women's Health Clinic for over four hours here November 23.

After protesters crossed police lines and

sat down in front of clinic doors, 30 arrests were made. The arrests took place over several hours, as no more than three or four antiabortion protesters crossed the police line at any one time.

Fifty pro-choice activists gathered at Summit Medical Center in response to the rightists' actions. Defenders of a woman's right to choose abortion turned out at 6:00 a.m. to make sure that clinic doors remained open and to escort patients inside. Some escorts were dispatched to Birmingham Women's Health Clinic to assist patients there. The director of the clinic had requested that pro-choice supporters not attempt to defend the clinic. While at Summit there was a line of pro-choice supporters defending the doors, at Birmingham Women's the police were relied on to protect patients' access.

The two facilities that provide abortion services are one block apart. For the first two hours of activity, the majority of antiabortion picketers shifted their numbers back and forth between the clinics. By 10:00 a.m. all attention was focused on Birmingham Women's Health Clinic where pro-choice activists formed a spirited picket line across from the clinic. A total of 75 pro-choice supporters participated in the days' activities, a majority of them students.

Several activists who have helped defend Birmingham area clinics in the past noted that this antiabortion protest was smaller than in previous years, when large numbers attempted to physically block access to clinic doors.

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Montreal police murder Black youth

BY ROGER ANNIS

MONTREAL — On November 14 Osmond Fletcher, a 26-year old Black man, was killed by police on a busy street in Petite-Bourgogne, a working-class neighborhood. He was the fourth Black man in the public record to die in a confrontation with Montreal police since 1987.

Police pursued Fletcher on foot for several blocks in an attempted arrest. They claim that Fletcher was carrying a gun and that he threatened them with it several times during the chase. They allege that after they caught up to him and wrestled him to the ground, he shot himself in the head.

After the killing, a tense crowd of residents gathered at the scene and remained for several hours until the police removed Fletcher's body. Numerous eyewitnesses disputed the police story.

Philip Thomas told the *Montreal Gazette* he saw no gun on Fletcher at the end of the chase. Police pulled him to the ground and one began to beat him with his nightstick, he said.

Another witness told a reporter, "They beat him and then they shot him. They might as well just throw a rope over a tree and lynch him."

The autopsy report showed that Fletcher was killed by a bullet that pierced his head in a downward direction behind the right ear. On November 19 his lawyer, Thérèse Kennedy, dismissed the police version of the killing.

"As my client was a left-handed person who never used his right hand, I don't see how he could have fired the shot," she stated. "There is nothing to indicate that he had the weapon in his hand."

On the evening of the killing, CBC television broadcast excerpts of an interview with Fletcher taped several weeks earlier. He spoke of his past run-ins with police and of the problem of police harassment and violence against Blacks in Montreal.

On November 4 police gunned down 25-year old Armando Fernández, a Mexican-born immigrant, in the parking garage of a downtown office complex. Police claim the victim was driving a stolen vehicle and fled



Militant/Jim Upton

Montreal demonstration in July 1991 against police brutality. Since 1987, four Blacks have died in conflicts with Montreal cops.

from arrest, first in the vehicle and then on foot. The cops say they shot him in self-defense when he pulled a knife after they cornered him. Fernández is the fourth person of Latin American descent killed by police in recent years.

These killings occur as public inquests into the shooting deaths by police of two other Montreal residents have revealed the depth of police racism and brutality toward Blacks and immigrants.

Marcellus François, a young Black man, was killed by police July 3 while riding in a car with three friends. Their vehicle was intercepted by five police cars and two SWAT team vehicles. François was shot in the head by a police rifle just seconds later.

The police say the shooting was a case of "mistaken identity" and that they were actually seeking a Kirt Haywood. They claim that François appeared to reach for a gun just before he was shot. In fact, no gun was found

in the car.

François's death sparked several angry protest demonstrations of hundreds of people in the days that followed his death.

Haywood, a friend of François, was a police informer. He bore no physical resemblance to François apart from the color of his skin. The cop who shot François, Michel Tremblay, knew Haywood.

Another inquest is examining the November 23, 1990, killing of Jorge Chavarria, a Salvadoran-born resident of Montreal. Chavarria was detained by policeman Raymond Masse just seconds after shoplifting \$10 worth of food from a corner grocery store late at night. The cop claimed he was obliged to shoot in self-defense when the victim drew a knife and threatened him.

One eyewitness testified November 6 that he saw Chavarria detained by Masse just outside the store. The witness followed the two down the street in his car. As he drove

away he saw Chavarria with his hands in the air, backing away from an armed Masse. One minute later he heard a shot.

Two other eyewitnesses testified November 8 that they saw the cop pick up a knife from the ground in front of Chavarria and, holding the knife in one hand and his own revolver in the other, say, "You've got a knife and I've got a gun." Seconds later he shot.

No protests have been called against the police shooting of Osmond Fletcher. Religious and political leaders in the Black community have publicly urged people not to protest.

Michel Prairie, the candidate of the Communist League in the upcoming provincial by-election in Montreal's Anjou riding [district], issued a statement following the killing of Fletcher.

"I condemn this latest killing at the hands of Montreal police," Prairie declared.

"The issue of who pulled the trigger is irrelevant. Osmond Fletcher died after he was chased, jumped, wrestled to the ground, and beaten by police. The responsibility for his death lies in the hands of Montreal police and their political masters.

"In recent years," Prairie continued, "police have unleashed a virtual reign of terror against Blacks, Native people, immigrants, and other working people in this city and across the country.

"We saw in Montreal this September how the police riot squad was brought into action against the striking federal government workers," Prairie said. "Our unions must take a clear and firm stand against police violence and demand that criminal charges be laid [filed] against police who beat or shoot the citizens of this city, including those responsible for the death of Osmond Fletcher."

Toronto protesters: 'Jail killer cops'

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO AND AL CAPPE

TORONTO — "Justice for Johnathon" and "Jail killer cops" were the chants of 200 angry people at a rally organized by the Black Action Defense Committee (BADC) to protest the shooting of Johnathon Howell by a cop.

Metro police detective Karl Sokolowski shot 22-year-old Howell in the head at point-blank range November 9 during an arrest for an alleged robbery. The cops have admitted that Howell was unarmed and kneeling at the time of the shooting. They claim Sokolowski "tripped" and that his gun "accidentally discharged." After several days of hovering between life and death, Howell remains hospitalized in serious condition.

"We're here once again to protest another shooting by the police in Toronto," said BADC leader Dudley Laws, himself a victim of a police frame-up for daring to raise his voice against racist cop murders. Since 1978 seven Blacks have been shot by cops in Toronto; four of them have died. None of the cops have been convicted of a crime.

"Many of us protested the murders of Albert Johnson, Buddy Evans, Lester Donaldson, and Michael Wade Lawson and the shootings of Sophie Cook and Marlon Neil. It's important that we continue the fight around Johnathon Howell," Laws insisted. Referring to the murder of Osmond Fletcher by the cops in Montreal November 14, Laws pledged that the BADC "will work with other organizations in Toronto, Montreal, and anywhere else in the country" to stop murders by the cops.

Outrage at the shooting of Howell was fueled by the acquittal several days earlier of Constable Brian Rapson of all charges stemming from the May 14, 1990, shooting of 16-year-old Marlon Neil. Rapson shot Neil twice in the back while the youth was seated in his car after being stopped for speeding.

At the rally at Queen's Park, site of the Ontario provincial government, BADC leader Charles Roach blasted the New Democratic Party (NDP) government for doing

nothing to discourage the shootings. Roach also called on churches, synagogues, mosques, labor unions, and bar associations to speak out against the shooting of unarmed citizens. "Their silence gives tacit support to the police. It's a signal that the shooting can continue," he said.

Several speakers at the rally referred to the November 12 election of June Rowlands as the new mayor of Toronto. During the pre-election period, Rowlands spearheaded a campaign for more police repression of working people. She explicitly singled out Blacks as being "disproportionately represented in crime statistics," and called for the "return of criminals from other countries to

their country of origin."

NDP candidate Jack Layton criticized such declarations but gave ground to the campaign by endorsing a crime inquiry recommendation making it easier for police to obtain search warrants. He also refused to comment on the shooting of Marlon Neil.

In contrast, Communist League candidates Joe Young for mayor and Colin McKay for public school trustee in Ward 2 called for the prosecution and jailing of racist killer cops and called for mobilizations in the streets to oppose police violence. In an interview shown on CITY-TV November 11, Young denounced the shooting of Johnathon Howell.

Racism revealed in California police communications

BY MARKIE WILSON

ALAMEDA, California — "Hey Hey Ho Ho — Racist cops must go!" was the chant at a picket line in front of this city's police station held to denounce racist remarks made by five white cops. The comments, which were discovered during testing of a police computer network software system, included references to "nigger night" and going to a police lineup "dressed as the KKK."

A tape released later had one officer asking, "How many Negroes does it take to barbecue a 2 pound steak?" He indicated that he used one-third of a bag of charcoal, "but I don't know how many Negroes it would take to achieve that flame."

The weekly pickets have attracted between 35 and 60 people. At the November 15 rally, the president of the Alameda National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) said that these racist remarks were a violation of civil rights and that the suspension of several cops was "not enough. All six officers involved and the police chief should be fired. We are putting pressure on the city manager to fire them," stated the NAACP leader.

"We must build and support any action

against the police department," said Sandra Lee, who recently ran as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for District Attorney in San Francisco. "There is no such thing as a good cop. Their role is to protect the rich. This is part of cop attacks all over the country. Working people need to stick together and protest racism whenever and wherever it happens."

Police Chief Robert Schiells originally suspended the officers for one day to three weeks. However, protests in front of the police station, condemnation of the officers' conduct by people at city council meetings, and numerous phone calls forced City Manager William Norton to send notices to two of the cops stating they faced dismissal. The city council felt pressured to issue a public apology and ordered an outside inquiry. The cops are considering legal challenges to their firing.

Information has also come out about the long history of racist harassment and abuse by cops. Former Alameda police officer Susan Seavers won a \$50,000 settlement in 1988 against the police chief and a police lieutenant for sexual harassment. At least five lawsuits in the past five years have cost

the city over \$138,000 for race and sex discrimination as well as police brutality. One of the officers charged with making racist remarks was named in three of these suits.

'Bring your sheet'

Several of the racist messages monitored referred to bars that used to play rap music and were frequented by Blacks. Owners charged police harassment, which they claimed was meant "to drive Blacks out of Alameda." The cops' conversation referred to whether there were "any objections to us painting our faces like Al Jolson and doing bar checks at Johnny's and the TZ." The reply was, "None at all. Bring your sheet while you're at it."

Police advised bar owners they should stop playing rap music if they wanted to keep their dance permits. Marcia Cook, owner of Johnny's, told the *San Francisco Chronicle* that when she refused to change her music format her dance permit was not renewed. Cops with bullhorns told patrons at closing time to "get in your cars and go back to Oakland."

Weekly pickets continue Fridays at noon and a march is planned for December 7 at Park and Lincoln Streets in Alameda.

Refugee describes journey from Haiti

'Even three people can't stop to talk or the soldiers will shoot at you'

BY JEAN-LUC DUVAL
AND NANCY COLE

MIAMI — Between October 27 and November 27, the U.S. Coast Guard has interdicted 5,175 Haitians fleeing their violence-torn homeland.

"Interdiction" is the polite term used by the U.S. government for its policy of forcibly boarding boats in international waters and sending their Haitian passengers to a destination they do not want.

Once refugees reach U.S. soil, they have the legal right to stay while applying for political asylum, including through the appeals process.

Under the interdiction agreement established in 1981 with the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti, however, Haitians are supposedly interviewed by immigration officers on board, who pass immediate judgment on their claims to asylum. No legal counsel. No appeals. End of process.

So far only 120 Haitians have been permitted to enter the United States since the September military coup against President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to pursue their asylum claims.

One of those is 18-year-old Jean, who arrived in Miami in mid-November. He had spent 8 days on a boat before interdiction, 19 days on a Coast Guard cutter, and 8 days at the U.S. naval base in Guantánamo, Cuba.

In an interview here Jean explained why he and thousands of other Haitians are making the perilous journey.



Thousands are fleeing repression by military regime in Haiti. Only 120 have been permitted to enter United States since coup that overthrew Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

"Even three people can't stop to talk on the street" in Haiti, he said, "or the soldiers will shoot at you. If your son or brother is killed in the street and you go to recover the body, they will kill you too." Trucks come by to pick up the bodies and dump them at

Ti Tanyen, a dumping ground for corpses made infamous under the Duvalier reign of terror.

Jean spent the night at a friend's house when the coup took place. The next day on his way home, he saw eight bodies.

U.S. continues military operations to block Haitians fleeing dictatorship

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The U.S. government continues a massive military operation off the coast of Haiti aimed at preventing working people there from successfully fleeing the repression of the military junta now in power there.

Meanwhile, talks initiated by the Organization of American States between Haiti's deposed president Jean-Bertrand Aristide and the current rulers collapsed November 24. Several days later the junta's interim prime minister, Jean-Jacques Honorat, announced that a new presidential election, without Aristide's participation, would be held January 5.

Between October 29 and November 29 some 5,790 Haitians have been loaded onto 15 U.S. Coast Guard cutters patrolling the 600-mile stretch of water between Haiti and the United States. At one point some 3,100 Haitians were in custody on overcrowded Coast Guard cutters along with 1,000 others on two Navy ships docked offshore of the U.S.-occupied Guantánamo Bay naval base in Cuba.

Overcrowded, rickety boats continue to leave the Haitian coast, despite the fact that as many as half the people attempting the voyage die at sea.

While refusing to allow Haitians to enter the United States, Washington is trying to convince other countries to accept some refugees. This has not met with much success. Honduras agreed to take 250, and Belize, Venezuela, and Trinidad and Tobago accepted 100 each.

In face of the repression in Haiti and the refusal of military authorities there to strike any deal allowing Aristide to return, a national demonstration has been called for December 13 in Washington, D.C. This action, organized by a range of groups, will demand continuation of the economic embargo against Haiti and the reinstatement of Aristide as president.

Reign of terror

Reports from Haiti since the September 30 coup expose the extent of the military's reign of terror against working people.

"Some of my family were killed by stray bullets," Ari Milot, a 26-year-old fisherman who fled Haiti, told reporters. "The army would come and knock down entire villages."

The repression has led to a massive migration from cities to rural areas. As much

as a third of Port-au-Prince's 1.2 million people have fled. The army continues to ban even the smallest of gatherings.

According to the human-rights organization Americas Watch, the Haitian government is carrying out a policy of "arbitrary arrest, and at times, severe beating of leading Aristide supporters" and "warrantless raids on homes and offices of those deemed opponents of the military regime."

The military junta and its supporters claim that the economic embargo imposed on the country is responsible for the deteriorating conditions and the flood of refugees fleeing the island. Opponents of the regime make clear, however, that the embargo is a weapon that can help pressure the regime.

To say the embargo is causing the departures "is a big joke" explained Hugo Triest, a Belgian priest who lived in Haiti for the past 25 years. "These people already have nothing."

Negotiations collapse

The collapse of negotiations November 24 between Aristide and eight Haitian legislators signals how the military junta and U.S. imperialism are pressing to restructure a repressive government so that it is capable of curtailing the struggles of Haitian toilers.

Aristide was willing to grant a number of concessions, including naming a new prime minister and pardoning the military for their role in the coup. The talks, however, broke off when junta negotiators refused to accept Aristide's return as president.

In a move to strengthen the military junta's hold on power, interim prime minister Honorat announced that new presidential elections would be held January 5. Aristide would be barred from participating based on a constitutional provision that prevents a president from succeeding himself.

A strong partisan of the military's "election call" is Marc Bazin, a former World Bank economist who was runner-up in last December's election, which was won by Aristide. Bazin sees a new round of voting as the only way to resolve the regime's inability to gain international credibility or terrorize working people into submission.

Reflecting the difficult situation they face, Washington distanced itself from the regime's election announcement. "It is the height of cynicism for those in power in Haiti to claim they are following the constitution by calling for new elections," said State De-

partment spokesperson Richard Boucher.

While trying to project themselves as strong partisans of Haitian democracy, the U.S. rulers are clearly not twisting the regime's arm too hard, while demanding Aristide agree to a series of concessions.

They are fearful of the public outcry against the coup that would be provoked by the sight of thousands of Haitians landing on U.S. shores. They also fear the facts the refugees can bring to public attention about repression in Haiti. Washington is doing all it can to let Haitian working people know that if they leave the country they will either drown at sea or be picked up and confined by U.S. authorities.

"We have seen no history of any persecution of boat people returned to Haiti," claimed State Department spokesperson Boucher. In spite of these arguments, a federal district court issued a temporary injunction November 19 barring Washington from forcibly returning the refugees to Haiti. A hearing has been set for December 2 to determine whether the ban should be made permanent.

Since 1981, the U.S. government had operated under a special arrangement made with the Duvalier dictatorship then ruling Haiti that allowed U.S. ships to pluck refugees from international waters and drop them back to Haiti.

The U.S. government claims individuals fleeing economic devastation do not qualify for political asylum.

"The attitude of the U.S. has been that if they are poor and black, they must be economic refugees," stated Anne Fuller, associate director of the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees. "You can be poor and have political reasons for seeking refuge too."

The differences within the ruling class on how they should deal with the situation in Haiti is reflected in recent editorials appearing in major newspapers.

The *New York Times* referring to the refugees argued, "Many of them may not have a legitimate long-term claim to safe haven. But as long as that bone-poor island country goes on without a legitimate government, forcing them back constitutes cruel haste."

The *Washington Post* called for easing pressure on the Haitian military rulers by lifting the economic embargo. They argue that the reinstatement of Aristide is not an "attainable purpose."

Two young people from his neighborhood had been killed, one while on his way to a store and the other while crossing the street.

Before the coup, Jean was active in a neighborhood committee of young people who worked to bring others together to improve the neighborhood.

The night after the coup, soldiers searched his house. Two days later Jean left the capital city of Port-au-Prince for La Gonâve where there was reportedly less repression. But since many other Aristide supporters were making the same escape, soldiers were there too. After two weeks he returned to Port-au-Prince and decided he would have to take the *kantè* boat, a term used to describe Haitians' flight from their homeland. Jean set off with 18 others including his two brothers.

Young people are a special target of the repression. This was reflected by the composition of Jean's crewmates — one was 28 and the others ranged in age from 14 to 19.

After eight days at sea, the Coast Guard caught up with them. The youths argued with their captors about the Haitians' right to travel in international waters. The Coast Guard answered, "We fought for these waters, and we'll do in them what we want," Jean explained.

The 19 were imprisoned on a Coast Guard cutter. After 12 days authorities began to detain other Haitians, and the number on board soon swelled to more than 250.

Many of the captives shunned the unfamiliar food they were given. Sanitation facilities consisted of plastic bags, which were not allowed to be discarded overboard. Tarps protected them from direct sunlight, but there was no protection from the rain. Water for bathing or drinking was in short supply.

At first they were told they would know their fate within eight days. Later their captors told them only President George Bush could make the decision.

"We told them, 'If you don't want to send us to the United States, take us to Cuba. Fidel Castro will take care of us,'" Jean said. "The Coast Guard argued that Castro was not our friend, that we would suffer in Cuba. But many knew better because they had made the trip before and had stopped over in Cuba. Sometimes the boats leave Haiti with no food because they know they can stop in Cuba and stock up and get any repairs necessary for their boats."

After 19 days the Haitian captives decided to go on a hunger strike to demand they be taken ashore. The strike was to include everyone, even the children on board. Six hours later they were on the ground at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo.

The refugees had thought that anything on the ground would be better, but in many ways it was worse. They were put in military housing, surrounded by barbed wire — a "war camp" as their Navy captors explained to them. They were warned that any talk about strikes would lead to arrest. In fact, several refugees were handcuffed and taken away.

The portions of food were so small, Jean said, that they joked that the Navy could save time by throwing the food in their mouths directly.

Some people were getting weak. Three or four people a day were taken away by ambulance. Near the end of Jean's stay, a three-person team from the Organization of American States arrived and interviewed about 40 people. After that, the refugees who had been arrested were released.

Jean's navy captors then called out 57 names, supposedly for a trip to the dentist. In fact, they were the refugees allowed to travel to Miami to pursue their claim to asylum. Jean was on the list, but his brothers were not. He does not know what happened to them.

Jean believes the thousands of Haitians fleeing their homeland are leaving for the same reason — out of fear for their lives. So why did he end up in Miami while the others were either returned to Haiti or imprisoned on Coast Guard boats and at Guantánamo Bay? "It's like a lottery, nothing more than a lottery," he said.

U.S. holds Haitians at Guantánamo base

Steps up provocations against Cuba

BY SETH GALINSKY

The Bush administration announced November 25 that it was building a camp for Haitian refugees inside the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. Some 850 U.S. military personnel from the Navy, Marines, Air Force, and Army, are being sent to the base for the construction work.

The additional personnel represent an increase of one-third in U.S. troops at the base, which is occupied over the objections of the Cuban government. The soldiers are setting up 135 canvas tents, with up to 20 cots squeezed into each one, for a total capacity of 2,500 refugees. The camps are surrounded by barbed wire. All the refugees were taken from boats outside U.S. territorial waters by the Coast Guard and Navy as they fled the dictatorial regime in Haiti.

Washington is setting up the camps at the base to deflect criticism of its refusal to grant the Haitians entry into the United States. After a federal court granted an injunction halting U.S. efforts to deport the refugees back to Haiti, plans for temporarily housing them on the base were announced.

The U.S. government's double standard — refusing to grant refuge to Haitians, while accepting Cuban immigrants who arrive in Florida by boat — was criticized by the

Miami Herald in a November 20 editorial as "racist" and "immoral."

"Some argue that interdiction [of the Haitians] is piracy," the editorial noted. "No nation has the right, outside its own territorial waters, to stop foreign vessels and force foreign citizens to go where they wish not to go."

Some 3,000 refugees were still being held aboard 10 Coast Guard cutters as of November 29. Seven of these ships are moored at Guantánamo Bay, packed so full of people, according to an Associated Press report, that they cannot operate at sea.

Cuba's humanitarian aid

Washington's harsh treatment of the Haitians stands in stark relief to Cuba's humanitarian position. An emergency refugee camp has been established in eastern Cuba, housing 658 Haitians whose boats strayed off course as they tried to reach Florida.

"It's obvious they can't be sent back to Haiti under the current conditions," Ariel Ricardo, spokesperson for the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., told the *Herald*.

Over the last two months, U.S. forces based at Guantánamo Bay, located at the southeastern end of the island, have been



Refugee forcibly returned by U.S. Coast Guard to Haiti. Washington has set up camps at base in Cuba to deflect criticism from its refusal to allow Haitians into U.S.

stepping up provocations against Cuba. The incidents range from deliberate violations of Cuban airspace to obscene insults directed against Cuban perimeter guards.

The provocative acts increased after Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide was overthrown by a military coup September 30.

Before the sending of additional troops there were about 2,400 U.S. military personnel stationed at the base.

A November 1 editorial in *Granma*, daily paper of the Communist Party of Cuba, stated, "Since October 1, using the situation

that was created after the coup in Haiti and the hypothetical need to evacuate U.S. citizens from that country as a pretext, the U.S. government has increased its combat troops, as well as the number of cargo airplanes and helicopters, at the naval base they maintain illegally in Guantánamo."

The editorial notes that "since July 10, 1991, more than 45 air reconnaissance operations with different types of aircraft have been carried out in the northern part of our westernmost provinces. . . . Thirty of these 45 flights have taken place since October 3."

Among the provocations are the following:

- On August 6 a U.S. marine on a watchtower exposed his buttocks and genitals to Cuban troops on guard duty and made obscene gestures. The incident was filmed on video by the Cubans.
- On October 21 the United States carried out several days of military exercises including a simulated mass entry of Cuban civilians disenchanted with the revolution.
- On October 23-25 U.S. aircraft armed with bombs flew over the positions of Cuban troops outside the base.
- On October 25 a U.S. military helicopter overflew Cuban positions during a landing exercise.

In a phone interview November 29 Marjorie Weisskohl, a public action officer for the U.S. State Department's Office of Inter-American Affairs, confirmed the October 25 helicopter overflight saying it was an "accident."

She stated that the other charges of violations of Cuban airspace were not correct. "The Navy says that the planes were considered to be in the legitimate airspace they operate in," Weisskohl said. Weisskohl was unable to give a definition of what the U.S. government considers "legitimate airspace."

The State Department spokesperson said that comment on the obscene gestures would be withheld "until we see the video."

U.S. gov't death squad in Puerto Rico

Continued from front page

Arnaldo Darío Rosado, 23, and Carlos Soto Arriví, 18, in self defense when the two allegedly set out to destroy a communications tower.

But the 1983 hearings carried out by a committee of the Puerto Rican Senate proved that the police version of the events was false.

Darío and Soto were lured to the hill by an undercover cop who posed as a supporter of Puerto Rican independence. The police were waiting in ambush. According to an eyewitness, the cops captured and beat them. In spite of the young men's pleas, the cops executed them pointblank.

Two initial Justice Department investigations cleared the cops of wrongdoing. The FBI's investigation of the case was coordinated with Puerto Rico police captain Angel Pérez. It was later revealed that Pérez had planned and supervised the police shootout.

Former police superintendent Desiderio Cartagena testified November 26 that "he took it for granted" that FBI agents were present at Cerro Maravilla during the killings.

The 1983 hearings resulted in the conviction of 10 police officers for perjury. But the case continued to haunt the U.S. and colonial authorities. Many were uneasy that while those that pulled the trigger had been convicted, the masterminds of the crime were perhaps still at large.

The Cerro Maravilla case also reinforced suspicions that other secret disruption activities were being organized against independence supporters and unionists.

"The use of weapons [provided by U.S. officers], the participation of a Navy lieutenant and a U.S. marshal, all that points to a responsibility on the part of the federal government," said Senate president Miguel Hernández Agosto after the latest round of hearings. "I don't see how they can just shrug it off and evade it."

U.S. authorities have long used accusations of terrorism to victimize union and pro-independence activists in Puerto Rico.

Testimony and documents released at the hearings confirm that police in Puerto Rico reported bombings that never occurred to justify "antiterrorist" operations and repression. At other times, police agents carried out bombings that were then blamed on alleged terrorists.

During a 1978 strike against Puerto Rico's electric company Alejandro González Melevé, the same police agent who lured the two young pro-independence activists to Cerro Maravilla, conducted acts of sabotage against the company. These were used to launch an intense anticommunist and violence-baiting campaign against the striking union.



Pro-independence rally in Puerto Rico in 1989. Recently exposed death squad targeted independence supporters, unionists, and socialists.

Disruption operations are standard procedure for U.S. police agencies like the FBI and the CIA and their junior partners around the world.

A 1973 lawsuit by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance helped expose how the political police apparatus functions. The suit proved that the FBI, CIA, and other cop agencies routinely spy on unionists, socialists, and others who fight for social justice.

The tactics used by these spy agencies include infiltrating organizations with agent provocateurs, tapping phones, breaking into offices, blacklisting, and other forms of disruption.

Police infiltrators would often attempt to convince members of organizations to commit illegal acts in order to entrap them.

The infamous U.S. counterintelligence program (Cointelpro) directed such illegal spying and disruption actions against the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Communist Party, Black Panther Party, antiwar activists, women's rights groups, and others.

The U.S. government has made a special target of Puerto Rican independence and trade union activists, as the latest revelations demonstrate. The names of more than 100,000 Puerto Ricans are on the FBI's so-called subversive lists. Dozens have been framed up and are serving sentences in U.S. prisons for supporting Puerto Rican independence.

Nineteen occupy Canadian embassy in Port-au-Prince, demand asylum

BY MICHEL PRAIRIE

MONTREAL — A group of 16 men and 3 women occupied the Canadian embassy in Haiti's capital city Port-au-Prince November 20, after their request for asylum in Canada had been turned down by the ambassador.

"The *macoutes* are after us, they want to massacre us," they reportedly shouted through the embassy windows. The *Tontons Macoutes* are the Haitian ruling-class thugs, responsible for mass terror in the country.

The occupiers are members of a student group called the Front of Reunited Militants (FMR). The Canadian government justified its refusal to grant the 19 asylum on the grounds that the FMR is an "organization of left-wing radicals which doesn't hesitate to use arms."

Canadian external affairs minister Barbara McDougall said, "We have no intention of giving asylum to these people — that would just give encouragement to others who might want to . . . threaten our representatives there or in other embassies."

Some 100 soldiers and police officers have surrounded the building. Embassy officials pulled the personnel out of the building and shut down electricity and water, hoping to force the group to quit.

"The embassy has turned into a prison for us," wrote the students in a letter addressed to Venezuelan president Carlos Andrés Pérez, asking him to accept them as political exiles. The Venezuelan government refused to make any comment.

On November 26, McDougall promised that once the 19 leave the embassy of their own accord, the Canadian government will monitor them closely to make sure they are treated "humanely and justly" by the military dictatorship.

Many of the forces opposed to the September 30 coup have condemned the occupation, including deposed president Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Some maintain that it is a provocation against the Canadian government, which they consider a staunch supporter of the restoration of the Aristide government.

In an interview here, where he took refuge shortly after the September military coup, Yves Richard, general secretary of the Haiti General Confederation of Workers, said, "I know the occupiers very well. They are a group of activists opposed to the military regime. Their lives are in danger and they should have the right to take refuge in Canada."

Health care reforms provide meager aid

BY DEREK BRACEY

A coalition of business executives and labor union officials have authored a proposal aimed at reforming the health care system in the United States. The sponsors claim the measure would guarantee access to health care for all U.S. citizens.

The proposal by the National Leadership Coalition for Health Care Reform would require employers to either provide health insurance or pay a federal tax, equaling 7 percent of their payroll, that would finance coverage for the uninsured. The proposal would also set uniform rates for all medical treatment, enforced by law.

The plan is supported by the American Federation of Teachers, the United Steelworkers of America, the United Food and Commercial Workers, and other unions. Corporations joining with the unions include Lockheed, Bethlehem Steel, Xerox, and Westinghouse.

This proposal is among several plans aimed at reforming the health care system in the United States now being discussed by lawmakers, union officials, and businesses. There are more than 20 health insurance bills before Congress.

All of these plans fall short of what working people need to gain adequate health care. None project full coverage; most provide only the most basic services, equal to what is covered by Medicaid and Medicare. Statistics on the health care crisis facing working people in the United States are one reflection of the growing impoverishment of whole sections of the working class.

More than 37 million people, 1 out of 9, are neither covered under a health care plan nor eligible for Medicaid or Medicare. Millions more have inadequate insurance. This situation exists as the cost of medical care continues to climb rapidly. In the last decade alone medical expenses have risen by 193 percent.

Medical costs are beyond the capacity of workers to pay them. The cost of a coronary bypass is \$49,000. The cost of the delivery of a baby by Caesarean section: \$7,500. A Bufferin tablet for a patient in a psychiatric hospital costs \$3.75.

More companies are pressing for a reduction of their responsibility to insure their workers. Health benefits have been a central issue of many strikes and contract battles in the last few years, including the current Caterpillar strike and lockout. The company is demanding that its workers pay 1 percent of their salary for health insurance. Caterpillar, like many companies, is saying they can no longer "afford" the expense.

The labor officials stance of trying to secure company-by-company benefits has helped lead to this situation. Rather than posing the problem as a social issue facing all workers and farmers, they have instead tied health care, like other benefits, to the profitability of "our" company.

The result is simple: more of the population goes without medical care. An estimated 8 million children are growing up without adequate medical and dental care. About 17 percent of those suffering from



Rather than support substandard company medical plans, labor can fight for government-financed health care as a just demand for all workers, farmers, youth.

diabetes and high blood pressure go without treatment.

Curable diseases

Many diseases that were virtually eradicated in the United States are now returning to haunt workers again.

Tuberculosis (TB) is becoming an epidemic in many areas, particularly New York. There were 25,701 cases of TB in 1990, up from 23,000 in 1989. Twelve prison inmates and a guard have died from tuberculosis in two New York state prisons this year.

There is growing pressure for the government and businesses to aid working people in being able to afford health care. Harris Wofford's victory over Richard Thornburgh in the recent Pennsylvania senatorial election has been attributed in large part to Wofford's vague promise that "working people should have the right to a doctor when they are sick."

Democratic and Republican party politicians, business executives, and labor union officials all operate in the framework of what "the country" can afford. In addition, business and government health plans project new or increased taxes on corporations and working people to cover costs. Those who propose to regulate medical charges have no answer to the threat from the medical industry that quality will suffer.

These forces begin with the premise that providing health care — as with every other aspect of life under capitalism — should be a profitable business. Complaints against health industry corporations center on the

extent of profits, and never pose why complete access to all medical needs should be a guaranteed right.

"The U.S. can do a much better job with the money it is spending by balancing compassion with realistic notions of what can be done," writes Janice Castro for *Time* magazine. "It is not possible to offer unlimited medical care to everyone."

A *New York Times* editorial says, "There is no imaginable way to have everything: free choice of doctor, unrationed access and affordable prices."

The honorary cochairmen of the National Leadership Coalition for Health Care Reform — former presidents James Carter and Gerald Ford — took a similar stand. The coalition proposal "steers a middle course between drastic measures (such as national health insurance) and ineffective ones (such as just tinkering with the present system)," Ford said. Ford failed to say whether he asked any of the 37 million without coverage today if national health insurance was a "drastic" measure.

Whether it be the "radical" proposal of national health insurance or the "tinkering" approach, working people would still be denied complete care for all their medical needs.

Rather than joining with big business to push a substandard plan, the labor movement can mount a fight for guaranteed government-financed medical and dental care from birth to old age for all. This is a just demand for workers and farmers; it should be a priority over profits.

Economic recession underscores need for Party-Building Fund

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Supporters of the Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund have made real progress in getting the \$150,000 drive on schedule. The fund is now only 1 percent behind.

All supporters are urged to join the ef-

fort to collect all pledges — which total \$163,480. That means collecting \$32,000 in the two weeks remaining in the drive. This will put the fund well over the top by the December 15 deadline.

The success of the fund flows from the understanding by its supporters that building a communist party in the United States today is essential in pressing forward the struggles of working people. Political developments since the fund was launched four months ago only reinforce the need to help finance the Socialist Workers Party.

The economic recession continues. A series of reports indicating the weakness of the economy and banking industry touched off the November 15 plunge in the stock market. Growing numbers of workers are unemployed. Reports have been released that one out of every 10 people in the United States now rely on food stamps.

In the context of this growing crisis, the trade union bureaucracy and the liberal politicians they look to have presented no solutions for working people. Rightist forces of various stripes have been advancing their political perspectives and getting a hearing, such as David Duke in Louisiana. Right-wing Republican Patrick Buchanan is getting ready to throw his hat in

1991 Party-Building Fund
Collected: **\$131,494** Goal: **\$150,000**



the ring for the 1992 presidential elections.

Although the labor movement continues to retreat in face of this crisis, there are signs of a growing desire by workers and youth to discuss, debate, and get involved in politics. This fall nearly 6,500 new readers were won to the *Militant* and other socialist publications; Socialist Workers candidates received a serious hearing in the fall elections; and the Young Socialist Alliance has recruited new members.

Every dollar to the fund will be used to help finance the SWP, which is dedicated to building a communist movement capable of leading workers in the fight for socialism.

Socialist Workers 1991 Party-building Fund

Area	Goal	Paid	%
San Diego	2,000	2,090	104
Atlanta	5,500	5,492	99
St. Louis	5,500	5,265	96
Miami	2,400	2,264	94
Newark	9,700	9,067	93
Greensboro*	2,350	2,160	92
Detroit	8,500	7,675	90
San Francisco*	12,000	10,755	90
Baltimore	3,000	2,629	88
Boston*	5,500	4,679	85
Pittsburgh	5,500	4,615	84
Omaha	3,000	2,515	84
New York	16,300	13,476	83
Twin Cities*	9,160	7,391	81
Salt Lake City	6,500	5,200	81
Seattle	5,000	3,876	77
Los Angeles	15,000	11,520	77
Houston	4,800	3,500	73
Des Moines	3,525	2,507	71
Morgantown	2,800	1,937	69
Chicago	8,000	5,440	68
Cleveland	3,000	1,979	66
Washington, D.C.	6,000	3,875	64
Birmingham*	6,500	3,889	60
Philadelphia	5,000	2,346	47
Other U.S.	4,815	908	102
International	2,130	440	21
Total	163,480	131,494	87
Should be		132,352	88

*Indicates raised goal

I pledge: \$1000 \$500
\$250 \$100 \$ Other to the Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund.

Send checks or money orders to Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Castro on political, ethical opposition to drug trafficking

BY SETH GALINSKY

Cuba's long-standing opposition to drug trafficking was explained by President Fidel Castro in a 1987 interview. The political reasons behind this position are worth reviewing in the face of attempts to use the trial of deposed Panamanian general Manuel Antonio Noriega to slander the Cuban revolution.

Carlos Lehder, a witness for the U.S. government in the Miami trial of Noriega, charged November 20 that Cuban leaders, including Minister of the Armed Forces Raúl Castro, had helped run a massive cocaine smuggling operation into the United States in the mid-1980s.

The *New York Times* devoted three quarters of a page to the charges the next day even though it noted that "no documentary evidence was introduced to corroborate his [Lehder's] assertions."

Lehder agreed to testify against Noriega after being offered a reduced sentence and transfer to more comfortable prison facilities. A Colombian citizen, he was sentenced to life in prison in the United States in 1988 for drug trafficking.

False allegations of Cuban government-sanctioned involvement in the drug trade have been repeatedly raised by Washington.

In the 1987 interview with Italian journalist Gianni Miná, Castro was asked about charges that he and Raúl Castro had been involved in setting up routes to help the Medellín cartel ship drugs to the United States in exchange for money to finance revolutionary groups in Latin America.

"Cuba never would have been in agreement with using funds of this type to aid the revolutionary movement," Castro told Miná.

"If Cuba, as a state and government, were to organize drug trafficking to help the revolutionary movement, I think that it would be making a grave mistake," he said. "Not just on the ethical level, but on the political level, above all on the political level."

"First of all it would be compromising the prestige of the country, of the revolutionary movement."

Castro pointed out that Cuban revolutionaries were not only opposed to involvement in drugs. "We did not even use what in revolutionary language has been called confiscations."

"In general the international communist movement was inclined against this, against the so-called confiscations to finance the movement," Castro explained. "We always had that line. We went so far that we did not even want to accept funds from people that had been in the government."

Referring to the days of the July 26 Movement, which was led by Castro in the fight against the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, the Cuban president stated, "In that epoch our position against kidnapping, assaults, etc., to obtain funds was clear."

In Castro's opinion revolutionary organizations should not "use funds that come from drugs."

"And if a revolutionary movement should not do it, because of the political and moral implications, a state can never ever do it," he concluded.

Trial ends in Curtis's suit against police

Continued from front page
to Curtis.

Nonetheless, Kutmus said, in every version, some basic facts were uncontroverted. All agreed that Curtis was handcuffed with his hands behind his back and was lying on the floor with his shoes, socks, and shirt removed prior to sustaining any injuries.

The medical records clearly demonstrate that he received a "blow-out" fracture to his eye socket. Dr. Ron Everson, who treated Curtis after his release, testified that producing such a fracture requires a tremendous blow to the eye, such as being hit with a fist or a baseball.

The police were guilty of using unnecessary and excessive force on Mark Curtis and producing severe and lasting injuries, explained Kutmus.

The cops stated that Mark Curtis, after calling friends and making arrangements to be bailed out, suddenly lunged for a holster he knew to be empty, with his shoes, socks, and shirt removed, while in a closed room in the middle of the city police station with dozens of cops around.

The cops claimed they had to subdue Curtis because he kicked Officer Wolf in the forehead. At the time, the cops admit, Curtis was lying on his back with his hands cuffed behind him and three cops were holding him down. To deliver such a kick, Curtis would have had to bring his leg over his own head a full five or six feet above the ground.

Lastly, Officer Wolf claimed at the trial that Curtis tried repeatedly to raise his head off the floor and bite Wolf's fingers. Another officer testified he was kneeling Curtis in the groin. Wolf testified that in order to defend himself, he had to block Curtis's head three times with his knee. Curtis injured himself, he said, by hitting his head into Wolf's knee.

"These claims simply make no sense," concluded Kutmus.

Curtis is a former meat-packer who was framed up by the Des Moines police on false charges of rape and burglary. Just prior to his arrest and beating on March 4, 1988, Curtis had been part of a fight at the Swift/Monfort meat-packing plant to unify his coworkers in defense of 17 immigrant workers.

The "Swift 17," as they became known, were being held illegally by Immigration and Naturalization Police. Curtis had spoken out

in Spanish at a meeting earlier that afternoon, urging his union, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431, to take the lead in the fight to defend the 17.

After his arrest that evening, Curtis was taken to the main police station and severely beaten after he refused to confess to a crime he didn't commit.

Beatings not unusual

These beatings are not unusual. In an affidavit submitted in the case on Curtis's behalf, Iowa Civil Liberties Union Legal Director Randall Wilson stated, "What all of these cases seem to have in common is a failure of the subject to meet the 'attitude' test, e.g. questioning the legitimacy of a search or the officer's authority."

Just before they beat him, the cops told Curtis, "You're one of those Mexican lovers, just like you love those coloreds."

Stu Singer, Curtis's next-door neighbor

and a member of Curtis's organization, the Socialist Workers Party, testified at the trial that Curtis called him and Curtis's wife to say he had been arrested and to get their help to get him out.

When Singer tried to confirm Curtis was in the jail by phoning the police station, he was told that "someone is being processed in the back." Fearing this meant that Curtis was being beaten, Singer drove to the station to try to see him. The police officer at the desk laughed and asked Singer if he had \$30,000 in cash in his pocket for bond.

Singer organized several of Curtis's friends to sign over titles to their cars to raise \$30,000 in bail money. Curtis was released March 5, after spending one night in jail.

Singer and Curtis's wife, Kate Kaku, picked Curtis up at the city jail. Singer told the court, "Curtis could barely walk. I helped him to a bench to sit down. His eye was totally covered with bandages and he was

obviously in great pain." Singer took photos of Curtis after taking him home.

Ron Everson, a doctor and friend of Curtis, testified that he came to Curtis's house to look at him after he was released. Curtis's eyelids were so badly swollen that Everson couldn't pry them apart. Everson and Singer took Curtis to Iowa Lutheran Hospital, where the "blow-out" fracture was diagnosed.

City solicitor Bruce Bergman attempted to challenge the diagnosis. Everson explained that the diagnosis was made from two sets of x-rays by two different radiologists and was also confirmed by two independent doctors. There is no question, he testified, that Curtis's eye socket was broken.

Five cops took the stand — defendants Wolf and Dusenbery; Robert Ervin, the supervisor at the jail that night; Ralph Roth, who helped hold Curtis down; and Carolyn Sue Taylor, who testified that she handcuffed Curtis.

Cops' story

The cops all testified that Curtis attacked them, and his injuries were the result of his own actions. They just did what they had to, they said.

Numerous contradictions cropped up in the cops' stories. Dusenbery said Wolf choked Curtis unconscious. Wolf said he didn't. Ervin said Curtis kicked Dusenbery as well as Wolf. Dusenbery said he wasn't touched. But they all blamed Curtis for the injuries.

The city's final witness was Peter Allen, one of the fire department paramedics who transported Curtis to the hospital after he was injured. Allen testified Curtis was unresponsive and his eyes were closed while they took him to the hospital. However, he claimed, he could tell Curtis was conscious because when he attempted to pry his eyelids apart, they wouldn't open.

City solicitor Bruce Bergman summed up the city's defense by saying that what the cops did to Curtis was necessary. They had to take action to "control" Curtis when he attempted to kick and bite Wolf.

"It is unbelievable that veterans of over 20 years on the police force would take a suspect into the back room and try to beat a confession out of him," Bergman said.

Judge Wolle then took the case under advisement.

"Courts are a difficult arena for working people to fight in," explained John Studer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, to dozens of supporters of police brutality at a meeting in the defense committee's office after the trial. "The police force doesn't 'serve and protect,' they intimidate and brutalize."

"The cops are trained to cover up the beatings and murders they commit, to minimize injuries they cause," Studer said. They also try to turn the victim into the criminal. They blame Curtis for his own beating, claiming he tried to jump them.

"In Curtis's case," Studer said, "they pitted the word of five cops against Curtis, who they branded a 'convicted rapist.'"

The defense committee leader pointed to City Solicitor Bergman's closing argument: "This case boils down to one thing — credibility." His line of defense simply came down to pitting the cop's word against Curtis's.

"For these reasons, no matter how compelling Curtis's testimony in person was, no matter how effective his attorney's were — and they were effective — no matter how many contradictions the cops' stories have, it is not an open and shut case against the cops," Studer said. "The pictures of Curtis are the single strongest piece of evidence and lead everyone who sees them to ask the same questions the judge did: How could this happen?"

"In a frame-up with stakes as high as they are in Curtis's case, to rule against the Des Moines cops, to say that the cops lied and brutalized him unnecessarily, would be a blow to the frame-up case against Curtis," Studer said.

"Regardless of the verdict we will continue to bring the cops' brutality to the light of day," stated Studer. "We have gotten the truth about cop violence out widely and have inspired others to fight their own victimizations. We are more confident and prepared to deepen the fight to win justice and freedom for Mark Curtis."



Militant/Stu Singer

Photos showing Curtis's beating are strongest proof in his case against cops

Board sets new obstacles before Curtis

BY JOHN STUDER

DES MOINES, Iowa — On November 19, the Iowa State Board of Parole shifted the grounds for denying Mark Curtis parole and launched a new offensive to place new pressures on Curtis to attempt to politically break him.

Curtis is a union and political activist serving a 25-year sentence on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. Under Iowa's

mandatory-sentence law, unless time is added for infractions committed in prison, a prisoner is released when completing half of the sentence time. Under this system, Curtis will serve twelve and a half years behind bars unless he is granted parole.

Unlike at Curtis's last two annual parole hearings, this year the board members brushed aside all discussion of whether he meets the criteria for release. Previously, the board had told Curtis that they would judge his application for parole on the basis of how much time he had served, his conduct and work record in prison, his arrest record prior to his conviction, and the amount of community support for his release.

On December 27, 1989, the board wrote Curtis after reviewing his case at his first parole hearing. "The Board commends your positive efforts and would like to see you continue in this way," the board said. "At the appropriate time, these things will help demonstrate to the Board that you are able and willing to fulfill the obligations of a law abiding citizen."

This year two of the board members present — Chairman Walter Saur and Barbara Binnie — repeatedly told Curtis that he would have to enter and complete a state-sponsored Sex Offenders Treatment Program (SOTP) before they would even consider whether he met the regular criteria for release. This was not contested by the third board member present, Joanne Lorence.

Board member Binnie told Curtis, "Until you have been to the sexual offenders' treatment program, you will get no consideration from this board."

Board chairman Saur told Curtis, "Either you go through the program and get out early or you don't go through and serve your time."

However, the article "Iowa board denies Mark Curtis parole," printed in the December 6 issue of the *Militant*, incorrectly telescopes this challenge with other statements by board members. The article

states incorrectly, "The parole board members stated November 19 that Curtis would not be paroled unless he admits to a frame-up rape charge; drops his legal appeal, and enrolls in a prison-run modification sexual offender treatment program."

In fact, the members of the board at the hearing never directly told Curtis that he would have to admit he was guilty or that he would have to drop all legal appeals before they would parole him.

They focused on their demand for him to enter the "treatment" program at the Mount Pleasant Correctional Unit. They carefully attempted to paint Curtis into as tight a corner as they could, to place the greatest pressure on him to stop fighting his conviction and to break him politically. But they stopped short of directly ordering him to drop his appeal and admit he was guilty as the price of being considered for parole.

Curtis's legal appeal in federal court is just getting under way. Given the length of time such appeals take, winning release on parole remains the best vehicle for him to win his freedom. For this reason, the stakes are high in correctly appraising the board's stance and the tasks in front of supporters of justice for Curtis.

Curtis began the hearing by explaining how he met all the usual criteria for release on parole.

First, he pointed out that he had a large group of fellow workers, unionists, and prominent people in Iowa and around the world urging his release on parole.

Second, Curtis explained that his work and behavior reports in prison have been excellent, that he has won certificates in a number of vocational programs, including commercial cooking, and that his "risk" assessment by prison authorities is very good. He noted that the prison psychologist rated him as having no mental problems.

Third, Curtis pointed to the fact that he

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—CALENDAR—

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Justice for Mark Curtis! The Fight Against Police Brutality and Frame-Up. Speakers: Paul Curtis, student activist in Missoula, Montana, Mark's brother; Judy Hagerman, organizer for the defense of Leonard Peltier, Native American leader framed up and imprisoned in South Dakota; John Studer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee based in Des Moines. Sat., Dec. 7, 7 p.m. Labor Center, 2261 S. Redwood Rd. Sponsor: Utah Supporters of the Mark Curtis Committee.

BRITAIN

London

Justice for Mark Curtis. Fight Police Brutality. Speakers: Kevin Hussey, sacked shop steward; Tilbury Docks, member, T and GWU Region No. 1 Committee; Lee Jasper, member, Southwark Black Communities Consortium; Joyce Fairchild, prominent supporter of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookshop, 47 The Cut, SE1 8LL. Donation: £1. Tel: 71-928-7993.

Sheffield

The Stakes in the Fight to Free Mark Curtis. Speaker: Communist League. Sat., Dec. 7, 6 p.m. Pathfinder Bookshop, 1 Gower St., Spital Hill. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-765070.

'Dignity, solidarity' hallmark of Cuba

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

NEW YORK — "Dignity and human solidarity." These are among the most important achievements that Cuban working people have won by making a socialist revolution in their country, said Cuban economist Carlos Tablada at a public meeting here.

Tablada was addressing 350 people at an event sponsored by the Faculty Ad Hoc Committee for the Tablada Tour, which is composed of distinguished professors at the New School for Social Research.

During the previous two days the Cuban economist had addressed meetings of 100 at the Borough of Manhattan Community College, 140 at the State University of New York (SUNY) in New Paltz, and nearly 100 at SUNY in Albany. All three were hosted by a range of campus organizations.

Tablada is the author of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*, published in English by Pathfinder. He is also a member of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Additional sponsors of the November 22 meeting here included several academic institutions at the New School for Social Research: the Department of Economics, Graduate Faculty Student Fee Board, Graduate Faculty Union of Political Science Students, and the Jane Rothenberg Program in Latin American Studies.

Sitting on the platform with Tablada were Gerardo Renique, a professor at City College of New York; Sam Anderson, faculty member of Eugene Lang College at the New School for Social Research; and Deborah Poole, coordinator of the Faculty Ad Hoc Committee for the Tablada Tour, which is coordinating the Cuban economist's one-month tour of universities throughout the United States.

Eloise Linger, who chaired the event, introduced several people in the audience, including Leslie Cagan from the Cuba Information Project; Luis Miranda of Casa de las Américas; members of the Cuban mission to the United Nations; and David Golove of the Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky and Lieberman law firm, which has advised the tour committee.

Tablada received a warm welcome from the audience, as he began speaking about the victory for free speech scored the night before at Rutgers University in Newark, New Jersey. A group of right-wing Cubans had unsuccessfully tried to disrupt his talk at the Rutgers meeting of more than 250 people organized by several local campus organizations.

"In spite of yesterday's incident where some people were opposed to having a free exchange of ideas, this exchange did take place," he said. "This is very important because of the big changes happening all over the world today." Tablada stated that because of these changes, everywhere he has gone during this tour he has found greater interest in discussing the Cuban revolution.

Tablada explained that the central leaders of the Cuban revolution of 1959 drew on the lessons of Cuba's long history of revolutionary struggle, going back to 19th century anti-imperialist leader José Martí. In addition, they "studied Marxism, and interpreted those ideas somewhat differently from what was known until then, including the interpretation by the Cuban Communists" before 1959.

"In the 1950s, no one thought it was possible for the revolution to triumph in Cuba," he pointed out. "The Marxist ideas that had been strengthened so much as a result of the glorious October [1917 Russian] revolution had been weakened beginning with the errors committed by the Stalin government. Marxism stopped being what it used to be, and instead became a justification for the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy."

The Soviet political manuals of that time excluded the idea "that the revolution could triumph in Cuba. Even the Cuban Communists — my father was one of them — never believed that the revolution could win in Cuba."

Nonetheless, the Cuban revolutionaries, headed by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, led working people in that country to make a revolution and "on January 1, 1959, the Cuban people took power."

"The Cuban revolution gave land to the farmers. It gave the industries to the workers and gave the schools to the students and teachers." People in Cuba are no longer degraded because of the color of their skin or because they are women, he explained. "The Cuban people became the masters of their own country."

The Cuban revolution, Tablada pointed out, is an example of the fact that "people become involved in making a revolution and give their lives, not for money or material gain but for higher values, to make the human condition better, which includes material

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Militant/Janet Post

Carlos Tablada at New York meeting sponsored by New School for Social Research

Tablada welcomed at Iowa colleges

BY BILL KALMAN

DES MOINES — "Revolution is not a static phenomenon or an economic process. More than anything else, it's an educational process, a struggle between old ideas and new ideas, between old values and new values."

This was the theme of a talk given by Cuban economist Carlos Tablada at Drake University here November 18. Tablada, on a one day tour in Iowa, spoke to 50 people at Iowa State University in Ames earlier in the day, and 200 at Drake that evening.

The Drake meeting was cosponsored by the Department of Philosophy and Religion and the Department of History, and chaired by Dr. Jon Torgerson, professor of philosophy.

It received funding from the Drake Center for the Humanities. The meeting was covered by the *Des Moines Register* and radio station KRNT.

The noted author began his presentation by sketching a vivid portrait of the kind of society the Cuban revolution is trying to construct. "The revolution gave the people values they had not had previously, to experience dignity both individually and collectively," he said. "And these new values of solidarity and collectivity did not suffocate individualism, but did not develop it out of proportion either. A revolution is an act of consciousness, of intelligence, and of feelings."

The Cuban writer illustrated the sharp contrast between the socialist ideals of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara on one hand, and what he called the Soviet model on the other. "The Russian revolution made an imprint on all of humanity. It raised expectations for the future. But in the 1920s the revolution began to deteriorate to what you see falling apart now. Instead of emphasizing communist education, authoritarianism was imposed."

Tablada defined the Soviet model as one "preoccupied with only economic functioning, concerned with the worker only as a productive unit, interested only in pursuing a profit . . . not interested in what those workers thought or felt, or in changing the way they thought or felt."

Tablada explained that when this model was fully adopted by the Cuban leadership in 1975, the basis was laid for the development and growth of a bureaucracy with a petty-bourgeois mentality.

"We're not a society of angels," said Tablada, "and we're very imperfect. But the Cuban of today is very different from the Cuban before the revolution. We now have more humane values. And that's what saved us when we implanted the Soviet model on our soil."

The political and social campaign against bureaucratic corruption, known as the rectification process, began in November, 1984. The audience of Drake students and working people from as far away as Lincoln, Nebraska, and Minneapolis, Minnesota, listened intently as the Cuban author described the beginning process of reversing the effects of the growth of the bureaucratic layer.

"We had 120,000 assemblies of workers

to discuss this," Tablada said. "So one-half of the membership of the Central Committee and the Politburo were turned out. Sixty percent of the managers, 70 percent of the local union leadership, and 100 percent of the national union leadership were fired." This last statistic got a big round of applause from the audience.

The discussion period after Tablada's presentation was a lively dialogue on all facets of Cuban and international politics, such as the effects of the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba, the economic crisis in the Soviet Union, the impact of Nelson Mandela's visit to Cuba, and the number of women in Cuban leadership positions.

Larry Ginter, a central Iowa farmer, pointed to the crisis facing U.S. farmers, linking it to increased U.S. aggression against smaller countries. "I would like the Third World to know," Ginter told Tablada, "that some farmers here are aghast at what this nation is doing." Tablada took the opportunity to explain the agrarian reform in Cuba, adding that "Cuban peasants are the privileged people in my country."

John Pappan, of the Lakota tribe in Nebraska, asked if Cuba would politically support and give material aid to the struggle of Native Americans for land and human rights.

Tablada replied that there was precedent for offering material aid to people in need in the United States. "Fidel Castro offered the governor of California medical aid for the victims of the big earthquake a few years ago," Tablada recounted. "I spoke to people in Watsonville, near the epicenter of the quake, who received no aid at all. Yet the governor told Fidel, 'No, we don't need your help.' We offered the mayor of New York, Cuban doctors to work in the Bronx, where the average life expectancy for African-American men is only 48 years. New York also told us, 'No.' Of Cuba's political support for the rights of indigenous peoples," Tablada said, "there is no question."

The meeting ended on an inspiring note as the economist reiterated the determination of the Cuban people to meet the challenges ahead. "Capitalism without democracy can function perfectly fine," he said, "but socialism without democracy cannot function at all. We will continue to fight for socialism, especially now that the Vatican for Soviet imitators is gone."



Militant/Samad Yerevani

Carlos Tablada speaking at meeting in Los Angeles. Hundreds of youth and others interested in learning about Cuba have attended similar events during tour.

Pathfinder book launched in Australia

Speeches in Cuba by Mandela and Castro seen as vital in today's world

BY BOB AIKEN
AND RON POULSEN

SYDNEY, Australia—Seventy people gathered here November 16 for a meeting to launch the new Pathfinder book *How Far We Slaves Have Come!* The book contains the speeches given by African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and Cuban president Fidel Castro to a rally in Cuba's Matanzas Province in July.

Mary-Alice Waters, director of Pathfinder Press and editor of the new book, began her remarks by saying that it was truly an historic occasion when Mandela and Castro, "two great leaders of the working class, stood on the platform together and addressed the tens of thousands of people there in the plaza and the millions who were listening on radio and TV throughout Cuba and elsewhere in the world."

The occasion for the rally in Matanzas, which Waters attended, was the July 26 celebration of the thirty-eighth anniversary of the opening of the Cuban revolution.

Joining Waters on the platform were John Maitland, president of the United Mine-workers Federation of Australia (UMFA); the Cuban consul general to Australia, Francisco Marchante; and Eddie Funde, chief representative of the African National Congress (ANC) in Australia and the Pacific. Tim Andersen, who after a long struggle and two prison terms has emerged victorious over successive police frame-ups, also joined the speakers platform.

Pathfinder representative in Sydney, Linda Harris, a member of the Metal and Engineering Workers Union (MEWU) and assembly line worker at Hoovers, welcomed the audience to the book launching.

Harris explained that July 26 was the first time Mandela and Castro had spoken together on the same platform. The Cuban revolution and the battle to bring down apartheid, she said, "are the two struggles that today are the most important examples for fighters around the world who want to rid the earth of racism and exploitation and chart a road forward for all humanity."

Maitland began by saying that the mine workers union has "a great deal of respect for both these leaders" and for the people in struggle they represent.

"Imagine the courage of a man confined behind bars, who could open the door at any moment if he would just compromise his principles," he said. Only such "a man of courage" could make such an inspiring stand while being imprisoned for over 27 years.

"Who among us could have had the courage to confront the U.S. hostility and embargo of Cuba for more than three decades in the uncompromising way that Fidel Castro has led the Cuban people, Maitland asked

the audience. These two leaders and their revolutions are "a beacon for us all," he said.

"Quite clearly capitalism has failed," the UMFA president said. "But what about socialism? There is no denying the difficulties, but the ideal is correct, even if the implementation has been flawed. These mistakes must be found and rectified and we must see that oppression fails and democracy prevails."

Maitland offered "full support to South Africa's unions" and insisted that "we must see that Cuba is not isolated."

How Far We Slaves Have Come!, he said, "must be widely distributed and publicized. There is no better way to gain support for

sober reminder to us that freedom is not won easily and that once won, it has to be defended and protected. It really is quite a touching and extraordinary event, the meeting of these two men, and the meeting that this book represents.

"Who could imagine that one country would send an army of its own people to fight and die on the other side of the world in the defense of the freedom of another people?" Andersen said of the Cuban internationalist volunteers who defended Angola from invasion by the apartheid regime's army.

Andersen, along with others in the audi-

be able to fight with any intelligence or any success."

Waters said, "The most important thing that Nelson Mandela was doing" in addressing the Cuban people, was "helping them to genuinely understand how decisive their contribution had been in Angola. He also let them know he recognized that the Cuban people now face the most difficult period they have faced in the history of the revolution."

Mandela conveyed his confidence, Waters said, that his audience "would solve these problems with the same spirit and the same political perspectives that they brought to the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola and the contributions they have made over the years to the struggle for freedom and independence in Africa."

Mandela said this, Waters explained, understanding full well the difficulties and pressures inside Cuba, and knowing that there are those inside Cuba who look back and question whether it was the correct to commit the massive resources that went into the defense of Angola over 15 years and into Cuba's longer-term help in Africa.

"He was telling them 'yes, you did do the right thing,'" Waters said. "He told the rally that when 'the poor and rightless rule the land of their birth, we will know it was not only through our own efforts but through the solidarity, support, and encouragement of the great Cuban people.'"

"The second thing Mandela did in that speech was equally important," Waters said. "He simply explained to the people of Cuba and others of us around the world the dynamics and history of the struggle inside South Africa today. Mandela described what bringing down the apartheid regime and the establishment of a nonracial, nonsexist South Africa means, not only in Africa, but to the people of Cuba and what it means to people all around the world. He told the people of Cuba, 'You are not alone.'"

Fidel Castro began his speech, Waters reported, by "picking up on the same themes as Mandela was developing." In the same equally straightforward and powerful way, from the point of view of Cuba and the struggles in Latin America, Castro explained "exactly what the world has in store for all of us and why the socialist revolution in Cuba is the future."

Waters said that Castro described "the true face of capitalism" with "its millions of homeless and hungry children; unemployed; and men, women, and children without food or without medicine."

"That is why the Cuban leader insisted that 'no matter what the difficulties, no matter what the problems we face, we will never go back to the slave barracks of imperialism because that is where we came from. We know what capitalism is all about. We know what imperialism is all about.'"

Waters pointed out that Fidel Castro had just come back from a summit meeting in Guadalajara, Mexico, where he explained that "the world we are facing is not one of a victorious triumphalist capitalism under the leadership of the U.S. empire, but a future of growing interimperialist competition and conflict, of growing polarization and social tensions."

Capitalism, far from emerging victorious from the Cold War, she said, is weaker, more vulnerable and more unstable than before. "As Castro reminded us, those in Washington and Wall Street who are singing 'victory songs' in the world today are somewhat premature."

Mandela "in his usual way," Waters said, put it simply and accurately when he said that of all the lessons of the Cuban revolution, the most important is that "no matter what the odds, no matter what difficulties, you have had to struggle. There can be no surrender. It is a case of freedom or death."

"The challenge we have," she said, "is to get this book into the hands of fighters from South Africa to Britain; New York to Sydney; East Timor to Manila; and Jamaica to São Paulo."

The diverse audience learned about the meeting from publicity through anti-apartheid organizations, the Australia-Cuba Friendship Society, publicity on radio and in periodicals, and from leafletting numerous political events, including East Timor demonstrations and a meeting protesting a

Continued on Page 12



Mary-Alice Waters, director of Pathfinder; Francisco Marchante, Cuban consul general to Australia; John Maitland, president of Amalgamated Mineworkers Federation; Eddie Funde, representative of African National Congress.

these struggles than encouraging people to read this publication."

Learn about Mandela in Cuba

Cuban consul general Marchante pointed out that "this book is very important because many people don't know that Mandela was in Cuba." The most people had seen was a media clip of Fidel Castro meeting Nelson Mandela at Havana's international airport, but most know "nothing about the speeches." Marchante thanked Pathfinder for making these and other speeches from the Cuban revolution available in print around the world.

The Cuban representative outlined the country's many severe economic problems today. This situation has arisen "because we were trading with the countries that lost socialism in Eastern Europe, and because of the chaos in the Soviet Union's economy."

"Cuba is blockaded by the United States of America in a conscious policy of aggression," he said. "But Cuba is also 'blockaded' by the USSR — not because the USSR wants to do this but because the USSR is unable to send petrol and many other things to Cuba."

"We need more solidarity from the world," Marchante said, "because we will continue to develop socialism. Socialism is for us independence and sovereignty."

"Many ideas on the problems occurring in the world were explained by Fidel and Mandela in this book," Marchante concluded. "For this reason it is very important that you read it."

Andersen was introduced from the floor at the meeting, drawing a warm response. A well-known fighter against two police frame-ups around the Sydney Hilton Hotel bombing of 1978, Andersen served a seven-year prison term before winning his release in 1985. He was pardoned and given compensation. More recently, another attempted police frame-up of Andersen was quashed in the state courts. He is widely known as a campaigner for civil and Aboriginal rights.

Two giants of 20th century

Andersen called Mandela and Castro "two giants of the twentieth century." He noted both "the endurance of Mandela in his long struggle for freedom in his epic imprisonment and the long struggle to defend that freedom on the part of the Cuban people and Castro."

"It's an extraordinary marathon and a

ence, had just come from a protest against the Indonesian massacre in East Timor. Referring to Australia's acceptance of the Indonesian occupation, he said, "What would the situation have been if Cuba had shown the same friendship to the African people as the Australian government has done for the East Timorese people? I'm afraid it's quite possible that Namibia would not be free, that Angola would be a semicolony of the apartheid regime, and that Nelson Mandela might still be in jail."

ANC representative Funde took up Cuba's record as a small country that has done "more than any other country in expressing solidarity with the people of Africa." He said that "the links between Cuba and South Africa go back a long way. They are drawn in blood."

"These two speeches by two of the great figures of the twentieth century," Funde said, "are so full of wisdom and truth that it is difficult to single out any single quote."

"One of the greatest turning points in the struggle of southern Africa," he said, "was the defeat of the racist South African army in Angola at Cuito Cuanavale in March 1988. In his speech Nelson Mandela did justice in expressing the importance of that defeat over the apartheid army."

Funde recounted some examples from his own experience of the role that Cuba has played in supporting the struggle of the people of South Africa, citing the exemplary role of Cuban doctors in the camps of ANC fighters in southern Africa.

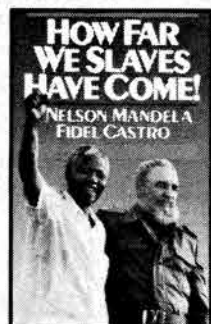
The concluding speaker of the evening was Pathfinder director Mary-Alice Waters who was able to give an eyewitness account of the event recorded in the book.

"By far the most important thing that happened in Cuba on July 26 was what Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro had to say to the world, as they together explained why the future belongs not to the capitalist world but to the oppressed and exploited of the earth."

"Those, as Nelson Mandela said, who are 'the poor and rightless,' who are fighting to bring into being a world in which 'those who make the wealth enjoy its fruits.'"

"These two speeches," Waters said, "which were sort of like the players in a concerto who go back and forth complementing each other, presented both a perspective that inspired others around the world to join the struggle and a scientific view of the world in which we live today. Without this perspective none of us, anywhere in the world, would

How Far We Slaves Have Come!



Speeches by Mandela and Castro at July 26, 1991, celebration in Cuba explain the links between the battle to uproot the apartheid system and the fight to strengthen the internationalism and communist direction of the Cuban revolution. 83 pp. \$7.95.

In Spanish, \$9.95.

Write Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Please include \$3 shipping for first copy, \$50 each additional copy. Or visit the bookstores listed on page 12.

NOW AVAILABLE IN SPANISH!

Ultraleft, centrist forces drawn to International

(Sixth in a series)

Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!, recently published by Pathfinder, contains the full record of the Second Congress of the Communist International, or Comintern, held in Soviet Russia in 1920.

The *Militant* is serializing the introduction to the book by its editor, John Riddell. These excerpts are copyright © 1991 by the Anchor Foundation and reprinted by permission of Pathfinder Press.

The section printed last week described some of the political parties and forces attending the Comintern congress that came from various countries in Europe. Many of these had recently emerged from, or were still a part of, the Socialist International.

* * *

The participation of more than thirty delegates representing the oppressed nations of Asia and Latin America was without precedent in an international workers' congress. The pre-1914 Second International had included almost no representatives of the hundreds of millions of brutally exploited toilers in these lands, and its conduct, as Zinoviev noted in session 17, led these toilers "to adopt an attitude of the greatest distrust." The Comintern statutes commented that the Second International "in reality recognized the existence only of people with white skin."

M.N. Roy [from India] later remarked that at the Second Congress, "for the first time, brown and yellow men met with white men who were not overbearing imperialists but friends and comrades." By 1920, many revolutionary fighters in the colonies and semicolonies were looking to the Communist International, and Communist nuclei had been established in several of these countries.

The most firmly established Communist organization among the Asian peoples, aside from those within the soviet republics, was the Communist Party of Iran, which by 1920 had some two thousand members in many locations across the country. A Turkish Communist group had begun functioning in Constantinople (Istanbul) in May 1919, while a party of Turkish Communists in exile was formed early in 1920 in Baku.

A revolutionary current supporting the Comintern had also grown up in the Dutch East Indies, and in May 1920 it took the name Communist Association in the Indies. It was represented at the congress by the founder of the Indonesian Socialist movement, the Dutch revolutionary Henk Sneevliet (Maring). As for British-ruled India, the first small group of Comintern sympathizers was formed in exile in Turkestan in 1919.

A group of Chinese Comintern supporters existed in Russia and, just before the Second Congress, work had begun by Chen Duxiu in Shanghai toward the launching of the Chinese Communist Party. Korean Communist nuclei existed in European Russia, Siberia, and Shanghai. In Mongolia a revolutionary democratic party sympathetic to the Comintern, the Mongolian People's Party, was formed on June 25, 1920. In the weeks following



Humbert-Droz Archives

Translation for delegates at the Second Congress of Comintern in 1920

the Second Congress, Yi Ch'un-suk, a Korean revolutionary based in Shanghai, traveled to Japan, where he established the Comintern's first contact with its supporters there.

The first party in Latin America to support the Comintern was the International Socialist Party of Argentina. Formed in January 1918, by early 1919 it had about fourteen hundred members and published a weekly newspaper, *La Internacional*. A small Communist nucleus in Mexico, formed in the autumn of 1919, sent as delegates to the congress two expatriates, Roy from India and Phillips from the United States. Elsewhere in Latin America significant forces were moving toward the Comintern, including an anarchist current in Brazil and the Socialist parties of Uruguay and Chile.

Centrist and ultraleft challenges

With the near-disintegration of the Second International and the rapid growth of support for the Comintern in the ranks of several mass Socialist parties, the new International became, as a Second Congress resolution noted, "rather fashionable." The Comintern stood in danger, the resolution continued, "of being diluted by vacillating and irresolute groups that have not yet broken with the ideology of the Second International."

Nor was the danger of opportunist dilution posed only by parties outside the Comintern. Discussions in Moscow with the delegates from Italy, for example, revealed to Comintern leaders that the Italian Socialist Party shared most of the fundamental weaknesses

of the French and German centrist-led parties. Opportunism had deep social roots internationally in the relatively privileged layers of the working class, Lenin explained to the congress. "This is where our principal enemy is," he stated. "We must carry on this struggle to the very end, in all parties. That is our main task."

All the centrist leaders who had approached the Comintern were invited to the Second Congress. "We guarantee them that every word of theirs will be saved for the future by means of a verbatim shorthand report, and will be afforded full publicity," the Executive Committee stated, "in order that the workers may learn the distinction between the policy of these opportunist leaders and the policy of the Communist International."

A problem of a different sort was posed by the extreme ultraleft and sectarian errors widespread in Comintern organizations. Many Communists considered it impermissible under any circumstances to run candidates in parliamentary elections or even to be members of and do communist work in reformist-led unions. Many rejected on principle a working-class alliance with toilers who were not wage laborers, such as the exploited majority of the peasantry, or with national liberation movements in the colonies. Many recoiled from engaging in struggles for immediate, democratic, and even transitional demands that fell short of posing directly the conquest of power by the proletariat.

In the early months of 1920 an international ultraleft tendency supporting such positions began to take shape, encompassing forces in the Communist parties of Austria, the Netherlands, Hungary, Switzerland, and the United States, along with the faction led by Bordiga in Italy, currents

in Britain, and — on the fringe of the Comintern — the KAPD [Communist Workers Party] in Germany.

A regional bureau established in Amsterdam by the Executive Committee of the Comintern at the end of 1919 began to act as a center for this current, organizing a conference in February 1920 whose resolutions were marked by ultraleftism. The Amsterdam bureau intervened in the unity discussions among communists in Britain, calling on those who rejected revolutionary work in the Labour Party to remain adamant on this point, even if their stand should block communist unity there.

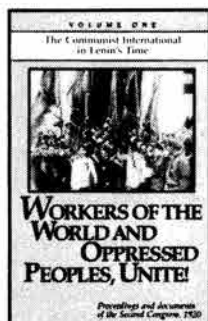
The ultraleft views voiced by these small currents influenced not only layers of radical-minded professionals and intellectuals, but significant numbers of revolutionary-oriented workers, as well. Zinoviev termed these working-class fighters "the Communists of tomorrow," adding, "They are the nucleus of the revolutionary workers, who wish to march with us." Lenin expressed the same view in his pamphlet "Left-Wing" Communism. "The mistake of Left doctrinairism in communism," Lenin stated, "is at present a thousand times less dangerous and less significant than that of Right doctrinairism." But this was only true, Lenin continued, because it is "a very young trend . . . just coming into being." Lenin concluded that "the disease can be easily eradicated, and we must set to work with the utmost energy" to do so.

The ultraleft communists incorporated into their outlook many of the views of revolutionary syndicalism. Before the war the syndicalists were the major left opposition force in the union movement contesting the class-collaborationist leadership of unions aligned with the Social Democratic parties. Deeply influenced by anarchist conceptions, the syndicalists held that the working class had no need for a revolutionary political party. They rejected the notion of a political struggle for power carried out by revolutionary means to establish a government of the workers and exploited peasants.

World War I had broken the syndicalist movement into chauvinist, centrist, and revolutionary wings. Many in the revolutionary syndicalist movement rallied to the banner of the Russian October revolution. Some, like Rosmer in France and Bill Hayward in the United States, were won to the banner of communism, but a greater number saw the October revolution as the realization of their own program and overlooked the central role in it of the Communist Party. Among those who held such views were the leaders of the syndicalist unions of Spain and Italy, which declared for the Comintern in the months before the Second Congress.

The Comintern leadership strove to eliminate barriers that might prevent revolutionary syndicalists from coming into the new International. They sought to win these forces away from anarchism and to communism. A centerpiece of these efforts was the International's letter to the Industrial Workers of the World in North America. A general invitation was made to revolutionary syndicalists to attend the Second Congress. Delegates or guests attended from the IWW in Australia, Britain, Ireland, and the United States; the Shop Stewards of Britain; and the revolutionary syndicalists from France, Germany, and Spain.

The Communist International in Lenin's Time

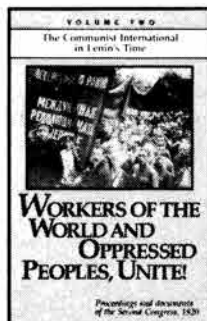


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Duke to enter presidential primaries

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

David Duke plans to enter the race for president by participating in Republican Party primaries in several southern states early next year, according to one of his top advisors.

Duke lost the November 16 election for governor of Louisiana to Democrat Edwin Edwards by a 61-39 percent margin, but succeeded in winning national prominence for his campaign.

Duke won a hearing from middle class layers terrified by the economic crisis as well as from some layers of the working class. He posed as a champion of the "little man" fighting the corruption, inefficiency, and bureaucracy of "big government."

He modeled his right-wing proposals

after positions put forward by the Bush administration and others in the Republican and Democratic parties. This includes opposition to affirmative action and blaming a "welfare underclass" for growing social problems ranging from unemployment to crime.

In a related development, right-wing Republican Patrick Buchanan, who served in both the Nixon and Reagan administrations, is moving ahead with plans to challenge Bush for the Republican presidential nomination. Buchanan has stated that he agrees with many of the proposals Duke raised in his gubernatorial campaign, but thinks Duke's previous association with the Ku Klux Klan makes it difficult for him to gain wider legitimacy.

Midway Airlines folds; 3,800 lose jobs

Company tells workers 'not to look for final paycheck come Friday'

BY JOHN VOTAVA
AND JAMES WARREN

CHICAGO — At midnight Wednesday November 13 Midway Airlines, which accounted for 75 percent of the daily flights from Midway Airport here, ceased operations. Some 3,800 Chicago-based employees lost their jobs and were told by their supervisors "not to look for a final paycheck come Friday."

This collapse set off a wave of shock and anger on the part of workers and people holding cash paid tickets who will probably never receive a refund.

Reggie Aguas, a 36-year-old aircraft mechanic, said, "There are no jobs for aircraft mechanics in this country," and indicated he would head for Australia.

Thirty-year-old ramp worker Denise Bauer complained, "I was just starting to make decent money. Now, with two kids, I would be better off on welfare than to start all over again at a new airline."

Abe Ahram had just transplanted his family from Miami after Midway closed its hub there. He stated, "I sacrificed my life and my family for this. We did the best we could. And then they pull the plug."

Midway's flight attendants and pilots are unionized but the ramp and food workers are not. The flight attendants have set up a hot line and some picketing has been organized at the federal court building in support of various legal actions, but for

the most part the workers at Midway are disoriented and discouraged.

The anger, however, is mostly directed at Northwest Airlines, which announced November 13 that it was not going forward with an earlier bankruptcy court deal to take over and thereby bail out the failing carrier.

In that agreement a judge had decided in favor of the Northwest offer instead of that of Southwest Airlines, which had also sought to buy Midway. This buyout deal would have resulted in the majority of Midway's workers being integrated into Northwest's unionized work force.

Northwest is saying that it could not go through with the arrangement when it found out that Midway officials had falsified their figures concerning traffic levels and operating revenue.

Many workers and financial analysts believe Northwest never intended to go through with the deal in the first place. The arrangement was in two parts. The first part, which was already consummated by the time the shocking reversal took place, was to pay \$20 million to buy Midway's 21 gates at Midway airport. The second part, now history, was to pay \$153 million for the remaining Midway Airlines assets, including assuming its debts. Critics argue that all Northwest really wanted was the gates and, once having secured those, it looked for an excuse to back out of the remainder of the deal.

Northwest denies this and has set an auc-

tion date for 20 of the 21 newly acquired gates.

On the day that Northwest publicly raised doubts about the figures given it by Midway, it announced the consummation of a \$744 million financing package with Minnesota where the state would assist the airline to modernize the Northwest hub in Minneapolis and to build two new maintenance facilities in Duluth and Hibbing.

Some have suggested that Midway was either a bargaining chip or a necessary compromise used by Northwest in its dealings with the state of Minnesota.

Fierce competition

Whatever is the truth, all the maneuvering with Midway, as well as Northwest's attempts to acquire Continental Airlines, are part of the airline's drive to bring its operations up to par with those of American, United, and Delta Airlines, as the fierce competition in the industry heats up amid declining passenger loads.

Midway Airlines was established immediately after deregulation of airlines in 1979 and, for a while, its prospects looked good. At its peak it flew to 40 cities.

However, it was operating in a declining economy. In order to withstand the cutthroat competition within the industry, Midway Airlines took several steps to expand its operations, including buying Eastern Airlines' gates in Philadelphia.

Eastern, it should be noted, sold the Philadelphia gates because of losses it suffered while pursuing its own version of "being more competitive" through trying to bust its unions. Eastern also is now out of business.

In order to raise cash to meet immediate loan payments resulting from its bank-financed expansion, Midway offered deals such as heavy fare-cutting for tickets paid with cash. This led to losses of close to \$1 million a day, according to the *New York Times*.

By 1990 the situation had deteriorated to the point that Midway sold off its Philadelphia gates to USAir, losing \$148.5 million.

Southwest Airlines now says it is no longer interested in buying Midway. It does want eight of Midway's gates now owned by Northwest but John Denison, Southwest's executive vice president for corporate services, made clear that any expansion by the airline would take place "over the next three to four years." Southwest says it will add three flights and hire 30 former Midway workers in January.

On the same day the *Chicago Tribune* reported on Northwest's willingness to auction off its new gates, the newspaper also revealed that American Airlines is slashing its capital spending plans by \$8.2 billion over the next four years.

Guyana opposition says regime rigs voter lists

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

The People's National Congress in Guyana is seeking to retain its control of the government by means of the vote-rigging and denial of democratic rights it has used for close to three decades. In the context of intensifying austerity measures against working people carried out by the regime of Desmond Hoyte, recent public opinion polls show that it would

farmers," Jagan said.

Guyana, with a population of 800,000, is located in the northeast corner of South America and borders Venezuela.

Trade unions recently organized picket lines, protest marches, and rallies after Hoyte announced that pay increases for government workers would not exceed 20 percent. With inflation running at 80 percent, the buying power of workers' wages is being slashed. The minimum daily wage, equivalent to 60 cents, "can hardly buy a pound of chicken," Jagan said.

Speaking at a September 28 meeting in Newark, New Jersey, sponsored by the Association of Concerned Guyanese, Jagan stressed the fight for democratic rights and against the massive vote-rigging that has marked previous elections.

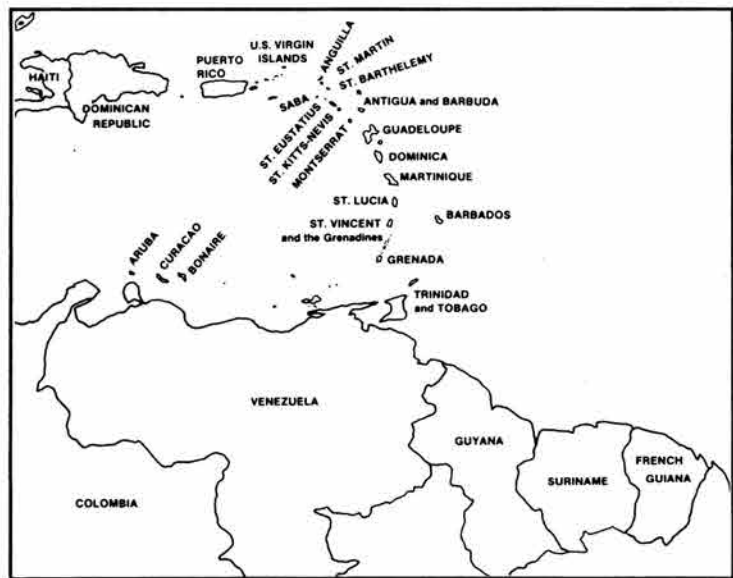
The Patriotic Coalition for Democracy has staged a series of marches and rallies demanding democratic rights and guarantees against ballot fraud. Besides the PPP, the coalition includes the Working People's Alliance, Democratic Labour Movement, People's Democratic Movement, and National Democratic Front.

"Thousands of non-existent, underage, dead, or people who emigrated have been included in the voters' lists," Jagan said.

Protests have forced the Hoyte government to agree that the commission overseeing the elections include opposition figures.

At the Newark meeting Jagan called for additional election observer teams besides one headed by former U.S. president Jimmy Carter and another from the British Commonwealth countries.

Opposition parties rejected the government's proposed voter lists at the end of October and demanded that the election be postponed. Opposition figures charged that 110,000 voters were omitted from the lists. Hoyte's regime has so far turned down the demands.



lose if elections were held today.

"Unemployment now exceeds 40 percent, while 60 percent of Guyanese live below the poverty line," said Cheddi Jagan, general secretary of the People's Progressive Party (PPP) of Guyana, the main opposition party. Jagan, Guyana's former prime minister, was interviewed while in the United States in September.

Jagan is the PPP's presidential candidate in the country's upcoming elections, scheduled for December 16. He was accompanied on his U.S. visit by Sam Hinds, candidate for vice president. They are running on the PPP/Civic ticket, which, Jagan said, includes businessmen, academics, and other candidates both inside and outside the PPP.

Infant mortality and malnutrition are on the rise in Guyana while life expectancy has dropped. "Ninety percent of the country's revenues go to service the \$2 billion foreign debt," he added, one of the highest debts in the world on a per capita basis. Hoyte's policy of bending to the dictates of the International Monetary Fund fattens the coffers of the imperialist banks "but is devastating for workers and



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Cheddi Jagan, general secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana.

Foreign subsidiaries' trade with Cuba causes dispute in U.S. ruling circles

BY DOUG JENNESS

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — A dispute is shaping up in U.S. ruling circles over whether subsidiaries of U.S. corporations located outside the United States should be permitted to trade with Cuba.

Washington imposed an embargo against trade with Cuba more than 30 years ago. Under a provision in the U.S. embargo law, foreign-based subsidiaries of U.S. companies can apply for licenses from the Treasury Department to trade with the island.

Republican senator Connie Mack from Florida is sponsoring legislation that would ban this commerce. He is strongly backed by many Cuban-American businessmen in Florida and the well-heeled Cuban-American National Foundation. In an interview in October with an Associated Press reporter, Mack said sales by U.S. overseas subsidiaries have been a "tremendous crutch to keep Castro's tyranny alive."

One of the companies profiting the most from trade with Cuba, and aggressively lobbying against Mack's proposal, is Cargill, Inc., one of the largest U.S.-based grain merchants. The company is also the only significant U.S. trader in the world sugar market.

Cargill's international headquarters is located on the outskirts of Minneapolis. Its overseas operations are conducted through Cargill S.A., its Switzerland subsidiary, and its British branch, Cargill Sugar Ltd.

Cargill's Washington lobbyist, Brendan

Harrington, has distributed a four-page paper to congressional offices arguing that closing off trade through subsidiaries will "surrender U.S. market share in international commodities trade to Japanese, European and other foreign companies."

Trade by U.S. firms through their overseas operations has been increasing as Cuban trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has declined. U.S. companies received licenses to export \$560 million worth of agricultural and nonagricultural goods in 1990, up from \$110 million in 1988.

Until now the George Bush administration has opposed the Mack amendment. A State Department official recently told the Minneapolis *Star-Tribune*, "We agree with the goals of Congress. But we can't legislate laws governing companies on foreign soil." Many U.S. allies, the spokesperson said, "feel strongly about promoting trade with Cuba and resent any U.S. efforts to restrict what subsidiaries do."

Previously, the White House vetoed legislation containing the Mack amendment. But in each case, it had reasons unrelated to the amendment. The Mack proposal has been attached to the foreign aid bill, which Bush has threatened to veto. However, to increase its chances for adoption, the amendment has also been attached to export legislation that has been approved in the Senate and is pending in the House of Representatives.

'Dignity and solidarity'

Continued from Page 8

well-being but is not subordinate to it."

Tablada contrasted this political outlook by the Cuban revolutionary leadership with the perspective carried out by the Soviet rulers since Stalin. When Che Guevara visited the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, "he realized that under the Soviet model, the people were at the service of the economy rather than the economy being at the service of the people."

In the 1970s, the Cuban economist explained, Soviet economic policies began to be copied in Cuba. "We began to introduce capitalist methods" that led to growing bureaucratization and corruption. It led to the expansion of a social layer of bureaucrats that had a privileged lifestyle and a political outlook that was hostile to the needs of workers and farmers.

Tablada outlined a major effort, known as the rectification process, which was launched by the Castro leadership in the mid-1980s as "an open struggle against this bureaucracy and these ideas."

One member of the audience asked Tablada how the influence of the bureaucracy was being combatted. "By increasing the real participation of the masses of people, by subordinating the government to the will of the people," he answered. He mentioned that mass meetings had been organized to draw millions of working people into discussions on economic and social policies. Tablada also pointed to the large number of company managers and union leaders who had been replaced in recent years, and to the fact that a new generation of young revolutionaries was consciously being brought into the leadership of the country's affairs.

"Have we defeated the bureaucracy? No. Have we taken away all its power? No. This struggle continues. And the future of our revolution depends on deepening this struggle."

Another participant in the meeting said the events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union had demoralized many people who considered themselves socialists. Tablada responded that a widespread discussion of these world events was taking place among the Cuban people. "This has made us go back to read Martí, Marx, and Lenin in their own words and not in the mangled versions" presented in the Soviet-type manuals. "Fidel made a call on the 20th anniversary of Che's death to go read Che's ideas."

"The only ones who are demoralized by the Soviet crisis are the bureaucrats who were privileged," he added. "But these developments have not demoralized our people." He contrasted these events with the real blows working people suffered from the U.S. invasion of Panama and the defeat of the revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua.

Capitalism has nothing to offer working people, he stressed. He mentioned some of the scenes of life under capitalism he had witnessed during his travels, such as meat-packing workers in Argentina who told him they could not afford to buy meat, and a homeless Vietnam veteran on a U.S. street holding a sign reading, "I'm hungry."

The East European regimes that have crumbled "were not socialist. Now people can once again regain the values of the Russian revolution" of 1917, he stated.

A former official in the Sandinista government in Nicaragua got up and challenged Tablada's reference to the demise of the Nicaraguan revolution, saying, "There is no reason to be demoralized about Nicaragua." Although the Sandinista government is no longer in power, the Nicaraguan revolution has not been defeated, he claimed. "The revolution is not the same as the government." Referring to the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), he stated, "We are stronger than ever."

Tablada answered, "I differ with you on the question of power. The only form of power is for the people to have the power and run the government, and that it not remain in the hands of the capitalists."

The Cuban economist commented, "When I learned of the FSLN's defeat [in the 1990 elections] my mechanic told me: 'They made too many concessions to imperialism.'"

"In my country the people have never lost power. This is a lesson for the peoples of Latin America."

In face of the unrelenting hostility of the U.S. rulers against the Cuban people and their revolution, Tablada said, "We promise we will not give up."

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Political Polarization and Rising Class Tensions. The meaning of the David Duke campaign in Louisiana, the battle against ultrarightists to keep abortion clinics open, and the defense of immigrant rights. Speaker: Chris Hoeppner, Political Committee, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

The Fight Against Police Abuse and Racism: Intimidation in Alameda; Rodney King Beating in Los Angeles; Police Killings in New Jersey. Speakers: Dwayne Hall, antiracist activist in Alameda, member National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Markie Wilson, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-326, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA

Miami

Restore Aristide! Enforce the Embargo! Open the Borders to Haitians! Speakers: Two recent arrivals from Haiti with first-hand report on terror in Haiti today; Rolande Dorancy, director of Haitian Refugee Center; Tom Fiske, Socialist Workers Party; Jean-Luc Duval, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Dec. 7, 6 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

Political Polarization and Rising Class Tensions. Speaker: Luis Madrid, editor *Perspectiva Mundial*, National Committee Socialist Work-

Strikes and rallies across France protest austerity measures

Continued from Page 16

movement gain enough strength to be able to occupy the plant. Renault responded by locking out 50,000 workers in France and Belgium.

The government gave the strikers an ultimatum to lift the plant-gate pickets by November 1. The strikers refused. Three days later, a second Renault plant went on strike at Le Mans. That evening French finance minister Pierre Bérégovoy went on national television to announce that French "national interests" were endangered by the strike and that France would not be able to compete in the Common Market if the Renault strikers wage demands were met. That night five companies of riot police occupied the factory.

After two days of negotiations, the CGT and CFDT proposed that the strikers accept a modest wage increase and return to work. The strikers refused by a vote of 807-717. Two hours later, union officials signed the agreement anyway. Workers at Le Mans voted 730-683 to return to work several days later.

The CGT's decision to sign the agreement at Cléon was widely criticized by Renault workers who were looking to spread the strike to other Renault plants as the company lifted the lockout.

Nat London works at the Renault factory in Choisy-le-roi and is a member of the CGT.

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ers Party. Sat., Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Desegregation, Affirmative Action, and the Fight for Black Rights Today. Speakers: Roger Mills, lead plaintiff, DeKalb County school desegregation case; Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Lodge 2665. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

The Mideast Negotiations: A Step Toward Peace? Panel discussion. Sat., Dec. 14, 7 p.m. 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Cuba Today: Eyewitness Report from Hemispheric Trade Union Conference in Havana. Speaker: Neil Callender, Young Socialist Alliance, member IAM Local 1726. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Defend Mark Curtis! Fight Police Brutality! Speaker: Bob Bruce, supporter of Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Video. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$5. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Political Polarization and Rising Class Tensions. Speaker: Estelle DeBates, national co-chairperson of Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. Holiday Inn, Executive Suite, 25th St. and Ave. "N." Council Bluffs. Donation: \$5. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

Mandela, Castro speeches book launched in Australia

Continued from Page 9

planned visit of U.S. president George Bush to Australia.

Most of those who attended the book launching also went to receptions before and after the meeting. Six copies of the book were sold beforehand and 16 after the meeting, including 5 in Spanish.

As well as introducing the speakers, Harris drew attention to a display on Dumile Feni in the reception hall. Dumile, a prominent South African artist who painted Mandela's portrait on the six-story Pathfinder Mural in New York City, recently died. Friends of the Pathfinder Mural, Harris said, were planning to open a Pathfinder Mural Center-Dumile Feni Memorial in his honor.

Waters concluded her talk and the book launching by quoting from the end of Castro's July 26 speech. This is the note, she said, "we want to take with us when we go out with this

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Crisis in Health Care and the Fight Against AIDS. Speaker: Robbie Scherr, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. Translation to Spanish and French. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

500 Years Since Columbus's Voyage: Achievement of Discovery Clouded by Crimes of Conquest. Speaker: Marty Anderson, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 727-8421.

Protest U.S. Death Squads in Puerto Rico. New revelations in the Cerro Marvella case. Speaker: Seth Galinsky, *Militant* reporter; others. Sat., Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 727-8421.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The 1917 Russian Revolution. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

Youth Against Apartheid: Panel of Youth Activists. Sat., Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

CANADA

Montreal

Open the Borders to Haitian Refugees: Step Up Sanctions Against the Dictatorship in Haiti. Speakers: Jean-Philippe Boursiquot, member United Steelworkers of America; Jacques Pascal, involved in student resistance against the military dictatorship; Michel Prairie, Communist League candidate in the Anjou riding. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 6566 boul. Saint-Laurent. Donation: \$4. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Vancouver

Give Haitians Refuge in Canada. Speaker: Nancy Walker, Communist League. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

book to spread its words around the world.

"Fidel said, 'We are internationalists. Our ideas go beyond chauvinism and narrow nationalism. Our ideas extend beyond all borders. We are fighting for a better world' where human solidarity replaces capitalist society in which humans prey 'on each other like wolves,' and imperialism is the 'greatest wolf that has ever existed.'"

"We who come from way back, who were conquered, who were exploited, and who were enslaved throughout history, what marvelous ideas we can defend today; what just ideals we can uphold! And that is why we correctly say, 'How far we slaves have come.'"

Waters added that "with weapons like those Mandela and Castro have given us, and with class leadership like they are giving to the struggles of the peoples of the exploited and oppressed of the world, we can also say, 'How far we slaves will go!'"

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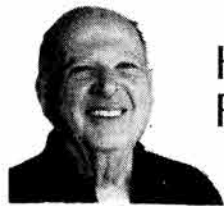
Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10. Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

Collateral prize — The Pentagon won the annual Doublespeak Award for enriching the language with such formulas as "servicing the target" (bombing); "force packages"



Harry Ring

(warplanes); "hard targets" (buildings) and "soft targets" (people).

Healthy as capitalism — In a damage suit, a Philadelphia jury bought the argument of the Lorillard tobacco company that a victim of

asbestos-related cancer failed to prove he was smoking Lorillard's Kent cigarettes at a time when they contained asbestos. When Lorillard introduced its micronite filter in 1952, it trumpeted it as "the greatest health protection in cigarette history." It suppressed the fact that the filters contained asbestos.

Dick Tracy — A headline in the Los Angeles Times declared: "Unemployment claims climb to a 7-month high." A subheadline shrewdly observed: "The news on jobless benefits raises concern that the nation's job market is deteriorating."

Dr. Feelgood — The operator of a Washington, D.C., area sperm

bank was indicted on felony charges. Women seeking insemination were assured the clinic had an extensive, carefully regulated sperm donor program. But, apparently, the good doctor was the sole donor.

It's all done with numbers — To calculate the extent of economic illness, Wall Street analysts use a gauge which combines the jobless and inflation rate numbers. It's known as the "misery index."

Check this against your weekly deduct — Among those filing income tax returns in 1989, there were 397 individuals and couples with incomes over \$200,000 who paid

zero taxes. An additional 4,192 in that bracket paid less than 5 percent of their income.

Of profits and piety — A woman in the Washington, D.C., area was buried in a Roman Catholic cemetery, but relatives then couldn't locate the grave. The gravestone had been repossessed. A crestfallen widow, the husband had forgotten a final \$410 payment. Ironically, he manages a firm that tows off repossessed cars.

But don't get nervous — The Army said a tiny drop of the deadly nerve agent VX leaked from a storage tank at its Newport, Indiana, depot. One drop on the skin can kill someone in less than ten seconds.

There are some four million pounds of VX stored there in 23-year-old tanks.

Could be worse — The Oregon Supreme Court indicated it would dismiss a disciplinary case against a judge who flipped coins to decide traffic cases. It occurred to us that some motorists might feel that with coin-flips at least there's a 50-50 chance of justice.

Thought for the week — "There are more poor children in America — 13.4 million — than there are citizens in Honduras, Panama, and Nicaragua combined." — Marian Wright Edelman, president Children's Defense Fund.

Sydney pickets condemn massacre in East Timor

BY BOB AIKEN

SYDNEY, Australia — As news broke of the massacre of more than 100 protesters by Indonesian occupation troops in the East Timor capital of Dili, picket lines sprang up at Indonesian consulates and symbols of Australian government complicity in major cities throughout Australia.

Youth from East Timor have been at the forefront of the protests. Since the Indonesian army invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975, thousands have sought refuge here.

Eyewitnesses to the recent massacre said Indonesian troops fired on several thousand people November 12 at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. The crowd was attending a memorial service for Sebastiao Gomes Rangel, a young East Timorese killed October 28.

"It was not a case of isolated volleys of fire," said Bob Muntz, an Australian organizer for Community Aid Abroad, who was present. "It was not a case of single-shot weapons — it was a case of sustained automatic weapon fire from many, many guns for a full two minutes into a crowded street that had 1,000 people in it with no possibility of cover."

In Sydney emergency protests were called on short notice. Forty people picketed outside the office of the Garuda Indonesia airlines. Nearly 100 protested at the state Parliament House during a function attended by Australia's ruling Labor Party prime minister Robert Hawke on the evening of November 15.

Picket lines of 40 and 100 preceded a November 16 march from Sydney's Town Hall to Hyde Park. Some 1,000 chanted, "Suharto is a butcher! Free East Timor now!" referring to the Indonesian president.

About half the demonstrators were East Timorese, many of them young, and other Asian students. The action included a memorial service for the victims organized by East Timor community groups and the Network of Overseas Student Collectives in Australia (NOSCA). NOSCA and East Timorese

spokespeople have pledged to organize ongoing protests.

Speakers pointed out that the massacre has been followed by massive house-to-house searches in Dili by the Indonesian military. Many individuals have been abducted as well.

Participants pointed out that the brutal assault on the protest was unprovoked and condemned the close ties between General Suharto's military dictatorship and the Australian government. They called for an international inquiry, an end to Australian military aid to Indonesia, and recognition of East Timor's independence. Michael Tardif told the protest participants at Garuda Indonesia airlines, "The Hawke government has a vested interest in keeping good relations with Indonesia because of the oil Australia gets from Timor's territorial waters as a result of the [1989] Timor Gap Treaty. It's called blood for oil."

Indonesia invaded East Timor in December 1975, following an independence declaration in November of that year by the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin). The organization was founded as a national liberation movement during Portuguese colonial rule. Fretilin has waged a guerrilla war against the Indonesian occupation ever since. Amnesty International estimates that some 200,000 East Timorese have died at the hands of Indonesian troops in the past 17 years.

The Suharto regime incorporated East Timor into Indonesia as its 27th province in April 1976. The Australian government recognized the incorporation in 1978.

Other protests

Sustained protests have taken place in the federal capital of Canberra, Australia, at Parliament House and the Indonesian embassy. On November 14, 200 people gathered and burned an Indonesian flag and paper masks of Suharto. Agio Pereira, a leader of the East Timorese community, called on Prime Min-

ister Hawke to cancel a planned February trip to Indonesia. The Hawke government opposes the demand for an independent international inquiry, saying only that the Indonesian government should thoroughly investigate the matter.

On November 18, Charles McDonald, secretary of the Canberra-area Trades and Labor Council (TLC), told another sizable protest in front of the Indonesian embassy, "The murder, the genocide that's going on in East Timor cannot be allowed to continue. I believe the union movement will take every bit of action possible to make sure it doesn't."

The *Australian*, the national newspaper, reported that the TLC has organized an official picket at the embassy.

Protests have also occurred in Darwin in Australia's Northern Territory, where 5,000 immigrants from East Timor live. Darwin is 350 miles southeast of East Timor across the Timor Sea. The Northern Territory Trades and Labor Council has also called on the state and federal governments to take immediate action against the Indonesian regime.

In Jakarta, Indonesia's capital, 70 East Timorese activists marched down the main

street November 19. Despite marching quietly from the United Nations office past several embassies, the demonstrators were arrested by Indonesian police.

Imperialist complicity

Australia's imperialist government is not the only one with close economic and military ties to Jakarta. The George Bush administration has asked the U.S. Congress to approve \$2.3 million for training Indonesian troops this year alone.

Despite calls to cancel upcoming trips to Indonesia, the November 21 *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that Sen. John Button, the Hawke government's minister for industry and Labor Party leader in the Senate, plans to go ahead with a December 11-13 visit to study current and potential Australian investment in the country. The paper also reported comments made by the secretary of the Department for Foreign Affairs, Richard Woolcott, on the Australian Broadcasting Corp. show "Lateline." The paper said he explained that "the relationship with Indonesia was too important to take an exclusively moralistic view of human rights issues."

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

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International protests are mounting over the new attempt by the Peruvian government to put peasant leader Hugo Blanco to death. Hugo Blanco, a Trotskyist, had organized peasant unions in a struggle for agrarian reform before he was arrested by the military government in 1963. He was held prisoner for three years before being brought to trial. He was sentenced to 25 years in the fortress prison of El Frontón. On Nov. 4, at his appeal before Peru's highest military court, whose decision is final, the prosecution pressed for the death penalty.

The Nov. 17 issue of *Granma*, official organ of the new, united Communist Party of Cuba, reports that two outstanding guerrilla leaders, Héctor Béjar and Ricardo Gadea, who are being held in prison in Peru, went on a hunger strike in solidarity with the peasant leader. The Cuban newspaper reported that in two prisons, a number of inmates holding similar views had been on a hunger strike for eight days.

In Chile, a petition appealing to Peruvian President Belaúnde Terry to grant amnesty to Hugo Blanco and hundreds of other revolutionaries and fighters for social emancipation, was presented to the Peruvian embassy in Santiago, Chile, on Nov. 25. It was signed by Clotario Blest, chairman of the Central Union of Workers, and many other socialists, union leaders, attorneys, and writers.

[A] telegram was sent by the Committee in Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru and was signed by Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, and other French intellectuals.

Forty-three members of the Belgian House of Representatives, belonging to all the different political parties, sent an appeal. In

Britain a petition in behalf of Blanco was signed by a number of figures in the labor movement, including members of parliament. Earlier, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners held a demonstration at the Peruvian Mission to the UN in New York.

THE MILITANT

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December 13, 1941

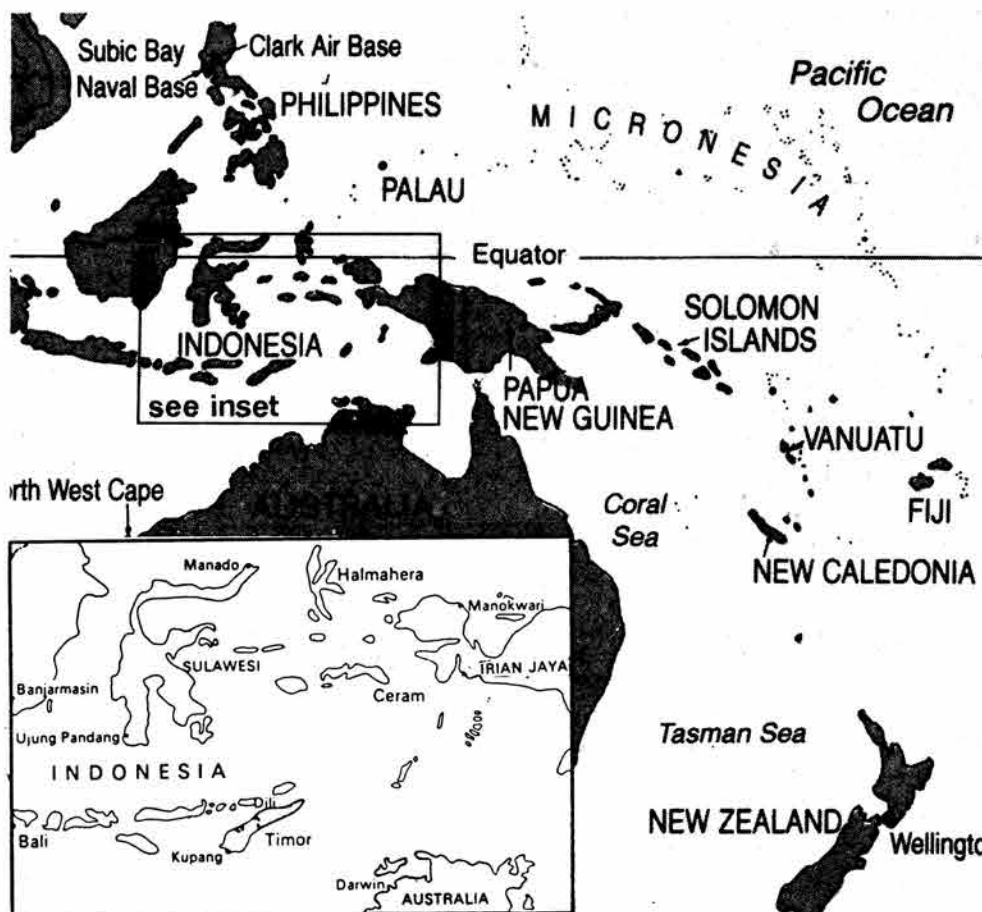
The New Jersey State Supreme Court on December 5 reversed the conviction of nine members of the German-American Bund, pro-Nazi organization, who had been prosecuted under the state's "race-hatred law" for inciting "hatred, abuse, violence or hostility" against racial and religious minorities.

Mere utterances of opinion, no matter what their character, cannot be considered criminal, declared the court, ruling the "race-hatred law" a violation of both the state and federal constitutions.

"To make the speaker amenable to the criminal law, his utterances must be such as to create a clear and present danger that will bring about the substantive evils to society that the State has the right to prevent," declared the court.

This is the doctrine repudiated by Attorney-General Biddle and the prosecution in the Minneapolis "sedition" trial in which eighteen labor leaders were prosecuted and convicted on the basis of the infamous Smith 'Gag' Bill for ADVOCACY of "the desirability of overthrowing the government by force and violence."

Thus, a State Supreme Court, in a state dominated by the most reactionary Republicans and Boss Hague Democrats, argues the doctrine of "clear and present danger" in granting free speech even to Nazi agents. But the Department of Justice rejects this doctrine in prosecuting working-class leaders for their militant defense of the interests of labor.



Curtis's fight for parole

Supporters of jailed unionist Mark Curtis's right to parole have a new task: reaching out to explain the results of Curtis's parole hearing along the lines of this week's *Militant* article to as many working people, students and other youth, and prominent individuals as possible.

Curtis cogently explained to the Iowa State Board of Parole why he is a prominent candidate for release from prison. He meets and surpasses all of the usual criteria used in determining whether a prisoner will be granted parole.

First, he has widespread community support. Few workers, if any, in the Iowa prison system have ever had such a large number of fellow workers, unionists, and prominent people — some 400 in Iowa and across the country in Curtis's case — state they want parole to be granted.

Secondly, Curtis explained that he has had an excellent record while in prison. He has been charged with only a small number of disciplinary infractions, given the myriad of rules and regulations prisoners face. He has regularly held a job and pursued educational activities. He has excellent relations with fellow prisoners.

Thirdly, Curtis said he has begun the fourth year of his incarceration, nearing the average 5 to 6 years served for a 25-year sentence and over the average for someone convicted of third-degree sexual abuse. He had no prior record before being convicted on the sexual abuse and burglary charges.

But the parole board members simply dismissed their usual criteria and instead launched a new offensive against Curtis. They charged him with making his appeal a "political circus," turning the broad support Curtis has won into a negative feature of his appeal.

They turn the fact that Curtis maintains he was framed up and has garnered international support for his fight into something to be considered against him in his request to be let out of prison on parole.

Most importantly, two of the board members stated that

Curtis must enroll in the Sex Offenders Treatment Program at the Mt. Pleasant correctional facility before he will be considered for parole. This was not contested by the third board member. The new demand on Curtis raises important questions in the parole fight. Questions that Curtis and his defense committee will be pursuing in order to effectively respond to this new challenge denying the political activist his right to parole.

The board's refusal to address Curtis's legitimate reasons for parole and their new requirement poses the following questions:

Is this a universal requirement, or is Curtis being singled out for special treatment? Are those convicted of murder, assault, or other such crimes required to undergo medical treatment as well?

Does Curtis, who maintains he is innocent, have to say he is guilty of a crime he did not commit in order to go through the program? What, in fact, is the character of the one parole board-sanctioned "treatment" program available in Iowa? Is it simply to get those convicted of sexual abuse crimes to recognize such acts are reprehensible? Curtis has already repeatedly explained — at his trial and elsewhere — why assault, rape, or the beating of a woman is incompatible with any pretense of fundamental human solidarity.

Unable to refute Curtis's legitimate explanation that he has fulfilled all of the usual requirements for parole, the board has taken a new tack to justify the continuing imprisonment of the framed-up unionist. Instead of granting parole they press Curtis to say that he is guilty in order to be released from the hell of Iowa's prison system.

His supporters can counter these moves by getting out the facts in the case, winning new backers in the process. As the answers to the questions raised by the hearing are dug up, those who support parole for Curtis will have new weapons with which to broaden the fight.

Parole board's offensive against Curtis

Continued from Page 7

has begun the fourth year of his incarceration, which is above average time served by people sentenced on the third-degree sexual abuse charge according to 1989 Iowa Parole Board statistics.

He also nears the 5 to 6 years that the Parole Board says is the average for people with a 25-year sentence. The first-degree burglary charge, which carries a mandatory sentence of 25 years, was tacked on to stiffen Curtis's sentence. At his arraignment the prosecution said that Curtis's mere presence in the house of the alleged victim constituted "burglary"; no one claimed that Curtis stole anything.

The board members responded to his presentation by launching a political attack on Curtis. "You have made this case into a political circus," Binnie accused Curtis. "You have done everything possible to make this appear a political issue and it's not."

The special attention given to Curtis's hearing was underscored by the fact that the supporters who attended on his behalf were forced to submit to an electronic search by the prison's Correctional Emergency Response Team, a search no one else attending a parole hearing that day was asked to undergo.

Throughout the hearing, the members of the board attempted to make Curtis and his supporters believe that there was no way for him to win his freedom without entering the Sex Offenders Treatment Program, and to make it appear that this would require him to drop all efforts to maintain and prove his innocence, including his legal appeal.

Curtis pressed them on these questions a number of times. Each time the board members skirted answering the questions directly.

"Until you get some insight on why you committed your crime we can't let you out," Binnie told Curtis. She added, "Some prisoners serve their entire sentence because they don't admit their guilt."

Curtis asked her directly, "Are you saying that I have to admit I am guilty or serve 12 years?"

"What I'm saying is that it is not a question of the time you have served or how well you have served it — treatment is required," Binnie responded.

When Curtis argued that his legal appeal should not be held against him in his application for parole, Binnie stated, "You have a legal right to appeal. And you'll have plenty of time to conduct it, since we have you until 2001."

At the end of the hearing, Binnie told Curtis, "If you win your appeal, by all means let us know."

Whenever board members were confronted with the question of whether it was an explicit written policy for all those convicted on sexual offenses to attend the SOTP program, they said no.

Keith Morris, the father of the alleged victim, who, under Iowa law, is invited to attend and speak at all Curtis's parole hearings, made a statement to the board that "it is Iowa State Board of Parole policy" for everyone convicted of a sexual offense to be sent through the program as a precondition for parole. Chairman Saur told him that the board did not have such a blanket policy.

The board members' course in the hearing was crystal clear. They had decided to shift off any discussion of whether Curtis met the criteria for time served, conduct, and community support, because they recognized that Curtis has a powerful case on these grounds.

Instead, they shifted to demanding that Curtis successfully complete the SOTP program as a precondition for even considering his parole. And they backed this threat up with allusions to Curtis having to admit he was guilty and forget his legal appeal, to maximize the pressure on him.

This shift in the focus of the battle for Curtis's freedom poses a number of sharp questions that must be clearly answered:

- Is completion of a medical program like the SOTP program a universal requirement for release on parole or is Curtis being singled out?
- Does everyone, regardless of their record and how well they meet the criteria for release on parole, who has been convicted of a sexual offense have to go through the SOTP program to be eligible for parole?
- Does this program require that you state that you were guilty in order to successfully complete it?
- Does this program require as a precondition that you renounce any legal appeal of your conviction?
- Are such demands legal?

These questions pose central aspects of the next stage of the fight to win Mark Curtis's freedom. Curtis, aided by his attorney and the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, will reach out to all those who defend human rights against discriminatory treatment to make this fight as broad as possible.

His supporters can get out the truth about the parole board's decision to shift away from the criteria it has traditionally applied, to insistence that Curtis undergo the SOTP program before he will be considered for parole and win new backers in the process.

Curtis has requested from prison officials all written material on the SOTP program. He is continuing his political activity inside the John Bennett Correctional Center, where his fight is being watched with great interest by other prisoners.

Growing cop violence in Canada

The shootings of Johnathon Howell and Osmond Fletcher by cops in Toronto and Montreal should be condemned by working people, unions, and all supporters of democratic rights. The police officers involved should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

Montreal police claim Fletcher committed suicide. But eyewitness accounts forced them to admit that Fletcher died after he was chased, cornered, and jumped on by the cops. No matter who pulled the trigger, Fletcher's death was a cop murder.

The Montreal police have killed 4 Blacks and 4 Latinos in the past 4 years. Toronto police have shot 5 Blacks, killing 2 of them, in the past 3 years. The Winnipeg police killed Native leader J. J. Harper in 1987.

These racist shootings and killings are part of the growing use of terror and violence against working people by the Canadian ruling class. For example, thousands of troops and cops attacked Native Mohawk communities near Montreal during the summer of 1990, and Canadian forces participated in the bombing of Iraqi workers and peasants last winter. Police have conducted a reign of terror against Blacks, Natives, immigrants, and other working people across the country.

This is the response of the ruling rich to the continued resistance of working people to attacks on their rights, standard of living, and organizations as the capitalist economic crisis grows. The potential of this resistance was seen

in recent strikes by postal and federal government workers, and protest actions by more than 30,000 farmers across Canada.

Police brutality, racism, and other acts of government-sponsored violence are aimed at intimidating and dividing working people to make it harder for them to organize and fight for their rights. The government wants to chip away at basic democratic rights won over decades by the working class.

The fight against police brutality and racism is a vital union question. But completely consistent with its overall policy of class collaboration, the top officialdom of the organized labor movement in Canada prefers to ignore the issue. This reflects their retreat in the face of the rulers' deepening attacks.

The only way to stop police brutality and racist violence is to sweep the bosses out of political power. For that to happen, labor will have to break with its reliance on the capitalists, their politicians, and their government. The unions need to defend the interests of all working people, whatever their country of origin, the color of their skin, their sex, or their language. Such a course will transform the unions into real fighting instruments and lay the ground for the building of a mass working-class party.

A concrete step in that direction today is to protest against the murders of Johnathon Howell and Osmond Fletcher and demand that the cops who shot them be prosecuted.

Build December 13 Haiti action

Continued from front page
hospital workers union.

Under the fake cover of concern for the safety of refugees, the U.S. government is conducting a military operation to prevent Haitians fleeing repression in their homeland from reaching and entering the United States. Thousands of impoverished refugees are being held on board U.S. Coast Guard cutters, Navy ships, and at makeshift tent camps set up at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

Washington defends its interdiction in international waters of ships containing Haitians and their forcible return to Haiti. This has been official U.S. policy since 1981, based on an arrangement worked out with the Duvalier dictatorship in power at the time.

Since November 19 a temporary court injunction has prevented Washington from carrying out these forced repatriations. As we go to press, a federal court judge is expected to rule on whether to lift this injunction, as Washington demands.

The U.S. government's project to temporarily house thousands of Haitians at the Guantánamo base means stepped up

U.S. military operations in and around the island of Cuba and represents a dangerous new provocation directed against the Cuban people. Some 850 U.S. military personnel in addition to the 2,400 already stationed there have been rushed to the base to build these new tent camps. The December 13 action provides a vehicle for protesting these threats.

The call to maintain and strengthen the economic embargo of Haiti remains an important way to aid the Haitian toilers in their fight to topple the brutal military regime. Washington hesitantly announced its support for the embargo, which was first launched by the Organization of American States. Ever since, forces within the U.S. ruling class have been seeking ways to weaken and end this policy.

Working people worldwide should champion the Haitian toilers' demand to keep the economic embargo on until the military junta is toppled.

The fight against repression in Haiti and for the right of the Haitian people to gain refuge and asylum in the United States is a fight that needs the support of the entire labor movement. Union activists should take the lead in building the December 13 protest.

Australian workers strike over new labor bill

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

Working people around the world are involved in skirmishes over speedup, forced overtime, layoffs, and attacks on health and safety benefits. Some unionists faced with sharp takeback demands, lockouts, and union-bust-

the whole year instead of over one month as is presently done.

A growing section of the capitalist class in Australia has begun to question whether the eight-year-long series of accords over wages between the Federal Labour government and the top officials of the Australian Council of Trade Unions has seen a drastic enough weakening of union conditions and wages. They have been pressing for an end to a centralized

Bolinas Point, Oakland, Sausalito, and Half Moon Bay in the south.

Crab fishermen organized into local associations as well as the Pacific Coast Federation of Fishermen's Association called the strike after their offer of \$1.85 a pound for fresh crab was rejected by buyers' associations.

As dozens of fishing boats lined the docks with crab pots stacked several deep, striking fishermen talked, painted their boats, or mended their equipment. One striking fisherman explained, "Costs keep going up and we can't make ends meet." As a fisherman, he said, "You have to pay for the boat, for the slip fees (docking fees), for the pots, for rising fuel costs, and for the crew of one or two." One pot costs about \$100,

ford to fish." Prices at retail stores run close to \$4 a pound.

According to Mitch White, vice president of the Bodega Bay Marketing Association, the crab fishermen's strike was settled November 18 when Harbor Fisheries agreed to the fishermen's price of \$1.85 a pound. Harbor is the second largest buyer in Bodega Bay. The largest, Cal Shell, is still holding out against the fishermen's asking price while sitting on 3 million pounds of frozen crab meat. Cal Shell represents the largest buyers on the Pacific coast reported White, which include Point Saint George and Eureka Fisheries.

The first signs of the catch this season have not been promising, report fishermen in Half Moon and Bodega Bays. Fishermen are work-

ing moves by the employers have gone on strike to force the bosses to back down.

ON THE PICKET LINE

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines to let other Militant readers know about what is happening at your workplace or in your union. If there is an interesting political discussion going on at work, we would like to hear about that too.

Over 800,000 workers responded to a general strike called by the New South Wales Labour Council October 23, bringing the state to a virtual standstill for 24 hours.

The strike was called to protest antiunion legislation due to be passed by the new South Wales Liberal-National Party coalition government headed by Premier Nick Greiner. The action involved workers across a wide range of occupations: steelworkers, coal miners, waterfront workers, airport, rail and road transport workers, nurses, teachers, journalists, and others. Factories, public utilities, and government offices across the state were largely idle.

The key provisions of the legislation give bosses wider scope to negotiate "enterprise level" agreements, and agreements with individual workers, without involving union officials. Industrywide contracts negotiated between unions and employer organizations currently provide benchmark wages and conditions. Unions often negotiate enterprise-level agreements as well.

Other provisions provide for fines for "illegal" industrial actions, require union officials to give seven days notice before they can visit a worksite, and weaken union access to the state-level arbitration system.

Another provision opens the way for the bosses, especially in government-run enterprises and services, to average out a 40-hour week over

wage-fixing system. Others, however, have pointed to the success of the accords in restraining wages since 1983 and support a continuing role for the union officialdom in a different version of "enterprise bargaining" — decentralized wage negotiations within the arbitration system.

The 10 percent reduction in real wages during the period of the accord has not been sufficient to satisfy the profit drive of the capitalist ruling class in Australia which faces the prospect of deepening international trade wars with its capitalist rivals in the 1990s.

The New South Wales government is using the current economic recession, the deepest in Australia since the 1930s, with an official unemployment rate over 10 percent, as a testing ground for the next round of antiworker attacks nationally.

Faced with these pressures from the employers, and legislation that threatens to further undermine their dues base, the union officialdom organized the one-day strike. The only rally called October 23 was a march of 2,000 in Wollongong, an industrial city 80 miles south of Sydney. In two earlier strike days thousands of workers voiced their opposition to the Greiner government's course.

Fifteen thousand workers, many of them from Wollongong and New Castle, also rallied in central Sydney September 17 to protest the new legislation.

On October 15, 80,000 nurses struck statewide in a 24-hour protest against cutbacks in hospital services that the Greiner government has been carrying out.

California crab fishermen strike

November 12 marked the opening of the commercial crab fishing season in north-central California. This year's opening has been marked by a strike of family fishermen from throughout the area: from Bodega Bay in the north to San Francisco,



Fishing boats with crab pots docked in Half Moon Bay during strike

each boat uses up to 200 of such pots to catch the crab. The crew members get a percentage of the catch.

Another fisherman noted that in "some years there are fish, other years not that many." This year the situation is particularly critical for the fishermen due to the very bad salmon season which just ended. "Many were counting on the crab season to recoup. Even when there is a good season the buyers set a quota for each vessel, thus limiting each fisherman's earnings."

John "Fortuna" Fzoftak, skipper of the Fortuna and a leader of the Half Moon Bay Fishermen's Association, said, "there are 75 members of the association here, but only 10 are working at fishing full time."

Fzoftak explained that the buyers' latest offer was 85¢ a pound. "At such prices the fishermen can't af-

ford to make up for lost time and preparing to move north as the December season opens for the rest of the Pacific coast.

Ernie Koepf, a full-time fisherman, explained that for fishermen, as independent boat owners, the unity shown during the eight day strike was a victory. Koepf is a member of the Board of Directors of the Half Moon Bay Fishermen's Association. He said that this was the first victory for fishermen in years and represented a defeat for the biggest buyer, Cal Shell.

Baltimore teachers protest education cuts

"Just say no to the furlough." "You took 34 and now you want more," chanted 1,000 Baltimore city school teachers, parents, and children who rallied in front of the cen-

tral administration building of the Baltimore city school district protesting the forced 5-day furlough Mayor Kurt Schmoke is attempting to impose on public school teachers.

The "34" is the \$34 million in raises the teachers' union officialdom negotiated away to help Mayor Kurt Schmoke meet the "fiscal crises" the Baltimore city government is facing. The Baltimore Teachers Union, Local 340 of the American Federation of Teachers, held the action November 18. Schmoke's moves are similar to those made by other city administrations in Maryland which claim they need to prop up their failing fiscal systems by cutting the budget. Schmoke has already laid off hundreds of workers and is targeting more. Almost a third of the city's libraries have been closed.

John Huffman, a demonstrator and a 15-year teaching veteran in the Baltimore schools said, "We want the mayor and the governor to turn their eyes to the largest population in the state and its kids." Baltimore, the largest city in Maryland, is an overwhelmingly working-class city with a 60 percent Black population. Eighty percent of all students are Black as well.

The spirited march ended at City Hall in order to voice its demand to the mayor. People along the route honked their car horns, pedestrians clenched their fists, and workers in office buildings waved in solidarity with the demonstration. Banners carried by the demonstrators read, "Furlough the elected officials at City Hall"; "Just say no to the furlough"; and "You took 34 and now no more."

LETTERS

Racist assault

Over a hundred Black parents descended on the police station in Willis, Texas, a small rural town of nearly 3,000, about 45 miles north of Houston.

They were protesting the police inaction to a shooting rampage by Raymond D. Roberts, Jr., a white 63-year-old car dealer, and his two sons, aimed at Black students on the campus at C.C. Hardy Middle School as school was letting out.

Roberts, outraged because one son had been in a fight with a Black student, returned with both sons carrying firearms and opened fire. Witnesses reported seeing him chasing as many as 17 Black students on school property.

"The students who tried to get back into the school during the shooting found the doors locked," one resident explained. "If the teachers hadn't finally come forward to tell the truth, too, probably nothing would have been done."

Roberts' trailer home was report-

edly guarded by a Klansman after it was damaged by fire. The Houston media received a hostile reception when TV cameras came to cover the protests and get interviews.

Anger still simmers in the Black community as residents wait to see what the outcome of Roberts' trial will be following a deal he made with Willis police.

Roberts and his sons were arrested several days after the shooting, 45 miles away in Liberty County. He negotiated his surrender with Willis Police Chief Joe Nelson under bond conditions that he not come within 200 yards of the school and was released on \$10,000 bond. His sons are being held in the Conroe Juvenile Detention Center.

Willie M. Reid
Houston, Texas

Cuban CP

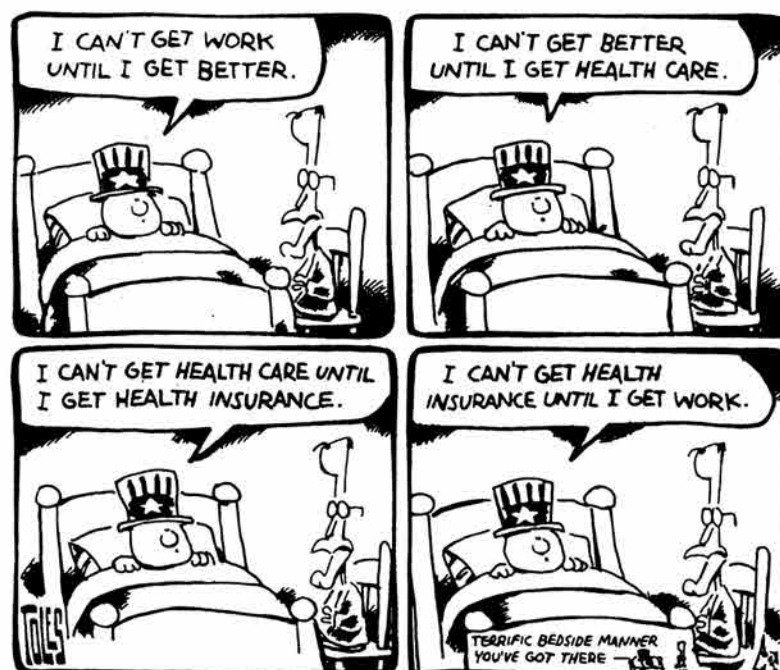
I love reading the *Militant*. It's so informative and just keeps getting better and better.

I would like to see more in-depth

analysis of two recent changes recommended at the Cuban Communist Party congress. These are the direct election of representatives to the National Assembly and the legalization of self-employment. The bourgeois media has portrayed both moves as concessions to democratic capitalism. How should we socialists view them?

Is the direct election of national leaders sham democracy, as in bourgeois society where elections are actually disempowering? Or do national elections further socialism, so long as the people are politically mobilized and directly participate in policy making in the workplace, on the neighborhood level, etc? If so, would the direct elections of the president also further socialism?

Is self-employment capitalistic in that it fosters a competitive, profit-oriented mentality? Or is it consistent with socialism, at least for some goods and services, in that it enables people to control their own work product and avoids over-bureaucra-



tization? Would collective self-employment also be consistent? Or should self-employment be viewed as a temporary measure necessitated by hard economic times and allowable only on an individual basis?

These are important questions for Cuba and for socialism. Hopefully, the *Militant* will shed some light on them.

Thomas Kleven
Houston, Texas

Korea tensions rise as U.S. demands inspection of North's nuclear plants

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Tensions in the Korean peninsula have been heightened by an intensifying U.S. campaign against North Korea. Washington is demanding that North Korea immediately submit to an inspection of its nuclear power facilities and dismantle any reactors that might be able to produce weapons-grade fuel.

Defense Secretary Richard Cheney said November 21 that, because Washington suspects that North Korea is developing nuclear weapons, the United States will indefinitely postpone troop reductions in South Korea that were part of plans for worldwide military cutbacks announced by President George Bush.

On the heels of Bush's September announcement, South Korean president Roh Tae Woo, declared that all U.S. nuclear weapons would be withdrawn. He called for a nuclear-free Korean peninsula and said that South Korea would maintain its nuclear power facilities "solely for peaceful purposes." However, Roh added that U.S. submarines armed with nuclear-tipped missiles would continue to patrol Korean waters.

34,000 U.S. troops

There are currently 34,000 troops at U.S. bases in South Korea. Until Bush's announcement, the United States government

had refused to admit that it had deployed nuclear weapons on the peninsula for decades. The Brookings Institute estimates that Washington has placed 650 to 1,000 nuclear weapons in the South, each with a destructive capacity 1,000 times stronger than the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

Cheney's announcement came after two days of talks with South Korean defense officials. Lee Jong Koo, defense minister of South Korea, said that Seoul would continue to back U.S. efforts to apply diplomatic pressure on North Korea. According to the *New York Times*, he also threatened "strong measures" to force an end to North Korea's alleged nuclear weapons development.

The United States and South Korea have made explicit what is meant by "strong measures." In March the U.S. Defense Department released the Joint Military Net Assessment Report 1991, which laid out plans for a 120-day war involving scenarios used in its annual Team Spirit practice invasions of North Korea. The plan includes the use of 200,000 troops as well as nuclear and chemical weapons.

Playing up the example of Iraq as much as it can, Washington argues that "even the best Western intelligence reports" are not reliable for determining a country's nuclear

weapons capabilities, and openly threatens the use of "smart bombs" against North Korea's nuclear power plants if Pyongyang does not agree to inspection. South Korea has also threatened a commando attack on the nuclear power plant in Yongbyon which Washington claims is manufacturing weapons-grade plutonium.

U.S. secretary of state James Baker used his recent tour in Asia to mount further pressure, calling on the Soviet Union, Japan, and China to join U.S. efforts. After Baker's visit, Tokyo announced it will not establish diplomatic relations with North Korea until the nuclear facility at Yongbyon is shut down.

No intentions to produce nukes

In an interview, United Nations ambassador Kim Chung Nam from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) spoke of the recent developments and growing tensions in Korea. "First of all," said the ambassador, "let me make it quite clear, my country is not capable of and has no intentions to produce nuclear weapons."

Kim said that North Korea does have nuclear facilities, but they are for experimental, peaceful purposes only. "What we oppose, is not the nuclear inspection itself. We want to have a nuclear inspection of the entire Korean peninsula, not an inspec-

tion of us alone," he stated. "There are nuclear threats against us — we can't accept unilateral action. It is a matter of the sovereignty and dignity of our nation."

Kim explained that the DPRK has been proposing an agreement for a nuclear-free Korea since the 1970s and had welcomed the September announcement by Bush on the worldwide removal of tactical nuclear weapons.

"For us," said Kim, "the first condition must be the removal of the U.S. nuclear weapons. The DPRK government proposes that the United States negotiate with us over the question of establishing a nuclear-free zone on the Korean peninsula. This is the most important task — to make Korea nuclear-free for the safety and security of the Korean people. It is up to the U.S. to take the first step for a nuclear-free Korea."

In a November 26 statement the DPRK Ministry of Foreign Affairs called for simultaneous inspection of nuclear facilities in both north and south. It also declared that Pyongyang would sign the Nuclear Safeguards Accord when the United States begins withdrawal of its nuclear weapons from South Korea. The accord allows inspections under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which North Korea signed in 1985.

French strikes, rallies protest austerity measures

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS — A series of strikes and demonstrations that began in France in early September continues.

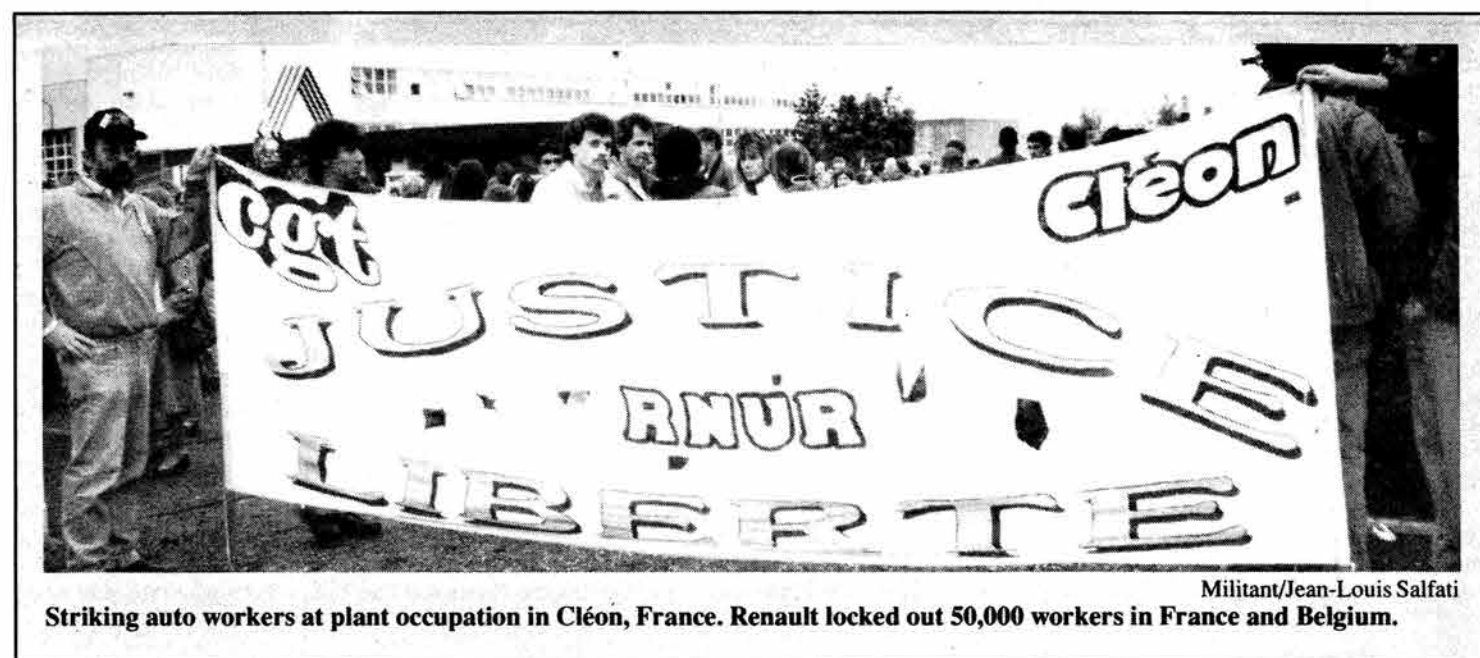
On November 4, thousands of truck drivers who are independent owner-operators launched a surprise action blocking many major highways throughout France. For instance, the highway north of Lyon was blocked by more than 800 tractor-trailers for three days. When police opened alternate routes to bypass the blocked section of the highway truck drivers set up secondary barricades. The drivers, organized into the Truck Drivers Coordinating Committee, are demanding an end to taxes on diesel fuel following a collapse in freight rates. The truck drivers formed the organization when the National Federation of Truck Drivers (FNTR) refused to support the action.

The truckers demanded immediate negotiations with Minister of Transport Paul Quilès. He refused to meet with the drivers until the barricades were lifted, then refused to agree to any of their demands when the action was halted.

After 10 weeks of strikes, demonstrations, and other activities by tens of thousands of nurses, the government signed an agreement with five unions. The General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the Workers Front (FO), and the Nurses Coordinating Committee, though, refused to sign the pact and announced the continuation of their protests. The unions opposing the agreement organized a vote in 408 hospitals representing 166,725 workers, 94 percent of whom voted against the agreement.

The government said that the agreement would cost 2 billion francs per year. In addition to a wage increase, the government agreed to hire 5,500 additional nurses. The nurses had demanded an additional 20,000 be hired. Actions organized by the nurses since the agreement have been smaller than before.

A November 17 national demonstration "to defend health care" drew 200,000 people in Paris. Many of those demonstrating were medical professionals, such as doctors with their own private practice, dental technicians, and pharmacists. Only a minority were workers in public hospitals. Few nurses took part



Striking auto workers at plant occupation in Cléon, France. Renault locked out 50,000 workers in France and Belgium.

in the action. The action condemned government austerity measures in the public health-care system and defended the right of patients to freely choose their doctor.

The health minister, a member of the Socialist Party, criticized the demonstration, pointing to the presence of wealthy doctors who, he claimed, were responsible for the budget deficit of the public health-care system. He said that the demonstration organizers were in fact opposed to public health care. He also pointed to the support for the demonstration by a right wing Gaullist party, the French Communist Party, and the National Front, a racist party.

While some workers shared the view that the demonstration served only to defend the interests of wealthy professionals, many felt that on the whole the demonstration had been a useful protest action against further government attacks and austerity measures directed at public health care.

Protests by farmers have also continued, while divisions within the major farmers' organizations between exploited and capitalist farmers have emerged.

Following a massive demonstration of 200,000 farmers in Paris September 29, ac-

tions spread throughout the country. Many of these were directly aimed against government ministers. Some involved throwing tomatoes and other farm products at the police and other representatives of the state. This led President François Mitterrand to issue an order forbidding members of the government to attend public events outside of Paris without special orders.

In a nationally broadcast radio interview, Mitterrand attacked the "violent peasant demonstrations" and demanded that the major farmers' union, the FNSEA, disassociate itself from them. The FNSEA is a large organization dominated by wealthy farmers who exploit the labor of salaried employees. FNSEA officials complied, calling off the protests and opening discussions with the government. After several days, however, protests started up again. At one action hundreds of peasants attacked the police commissariat in Carcassonne. Nine policemen were injured, several of them seriously.

Following the occupation of highways by the truck drivers, small winegrowers from the south of France occupied the highway and resisted police efforts to dislodge them. They also gave free wine to the striking

nurses. The southern winegrowers are among the poorest farmers in France.

Conditions for working farmers have deteriorated rapidly in recent years. The government statistical agency announced that agricultural income will drop 7.5 percent this year. Farmers' organizations have so far called for maintaining farm subsidies from the European Common Market and have mobilized to halt imports of wine from Spain and meat from Eastern Europe.

One of the main actions followed by the press has been the unfolding conflict at the French auto maker Renault. A general movement of workers began at most Renault plants in early September and continued into October. While this movement was not initiated by the union leadership, it received support from the CGT and FO. In some plants the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT) also supported the protests. Auto workers staged temporary work stoppages; demonstrations in the factories as strikers tried to get additional support from other workers; and picket lines at plant gates to prevent trucks from entering or leaving the plants.

Only at the Renault plant in Cléon did the

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